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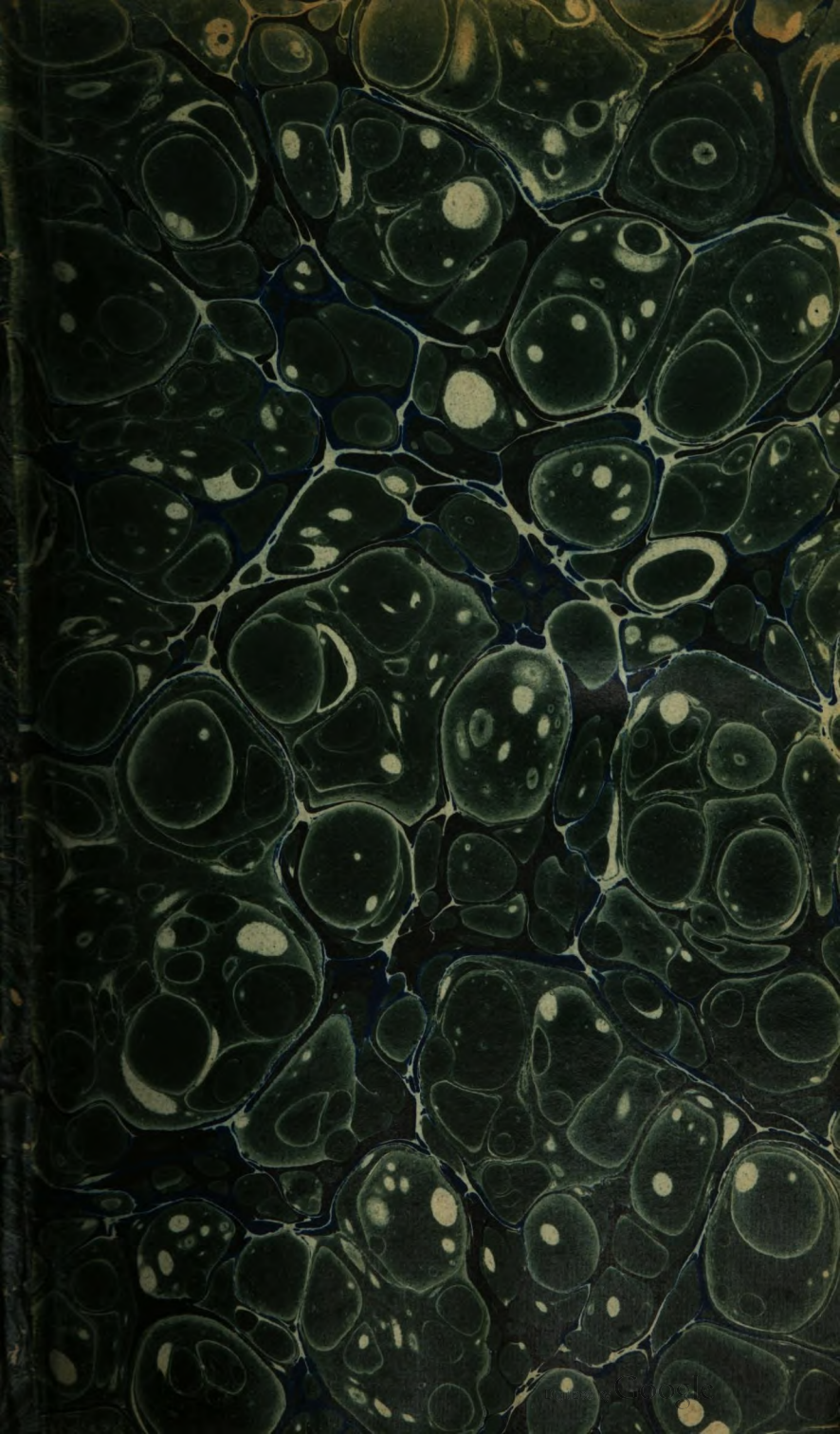
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Gen.^l Sir John Doyle Bart.

G.C.B. K.C.



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T H E
PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER:
O R,
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
O F T H E
HOUSE of COMMONS
O F
I R E L A N D,

The FIRST SESSION of the FOURTH PARLIAMENT
in the Reign of his present Majesty ;

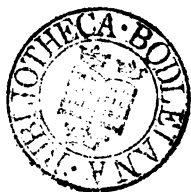
Which met the 14th of OCTOBER, 1783, and ended the 14th
of MAY, 1784.

V O L. II.

D U B L I N :

PRINTED FOR P. BYRNE, No. 35, COLLEGE-GREEN,
AND W. PORTER, No. 12, SKINNER-ROW.

—♦—♦—♦—♦—♦—♦—♦—♦—♦—
M,DCC,LXXXIV.



P R E F A C E.

THE debates of the Irish Senate, antecedent to the session which commenced in 1781, have been almost totally neglected ; but at that æra when, by the glorious efforts of her patriot sons, Ireland had assumed her rank amongst the nations, the exalted talents and great abilities which that event had called into action, became the admiration of the world, and mankind was anxious to learn the progressive steps which led to our emancipation—To gratify general curiosity, we then ventured to publish our first volume of Parliamentary Debates ; and though we are conscious that our utmost efforts have been too feeble to do justice to those excellent men, who are at once the guardians and ornament of their country, yet a generous public has overlooked our deficiencies, and the rapid sale of two editions of that work have marked their approbation of our labour. Emboldened by such encouragement, we have extended our plan, and we presume to say that the two volumes containing the debates of the session of 1783-4, which we now offer to the public, will be found of as much importance as those of 1781-2.

DUBLIN,
1st November, 1784.

T H E
N A M E S
O F T H E

Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes,

Returned to ſerve in Parliament, to meet on the
14th Day of *October*, in the twenty-third Year
of the Reign of his Maſteſty GEORGE the Third,
in Purſuance of his Maſteſty's Writs of Election,
bearing Date the 26th of *July*, 1783.

ANTRIM COUNTY.

HON. Hercules Rowley.
Right Hon. John O'Neill.

Borough of Antrim.

Hon. William John Skeffington.
Hon. Chicheſter Skeffington.

Borough of Belſaſt.

Hon. Henry Skeffington.
Alexander Crookſhank, Eſq;
Hon. Joſeph Hewitt, in the Room
of Alexander Crookſhank, Eſq;
now one of the Juſtices of the
Court of Common Pleas.

Borough of Liſburne.

William Sharman, Eſq;
William Todd Jones, Eſq;

Borough of Randalſtown.

Right Hon. John O'Neill.

Right Hon. Richard Jackſon.
Michael Smith, Eſq; in the
Room of the Right Hon. Rich-
ard Jac ſon, who made his
Election to ſerve for Coleraine.
John Dunn, Eſq; in the Room
of the Right Honourable John
O'Neill, who made his Elec-
tion to ſerve for the County of
Antrim.

ARMAGH COUNTY.

Right Hon. William Brownlow.
William Richardson, Eſq;

Borough of Armagh.

Henry Meredyth, Eſq;
George Rawſon, Eſq;

Borough of Charlemont.

Sir Annelley Stewart, Bt.
Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

CARRICKFERGUS COUNTY
and TOWN.

Right Hon. Barry Yelverton.
Conway Richard Dobbs, Esq;
Waddell Cunningham, Esq; in
the Room of the Right Hon.
Barry Yelverton, now Chief
Baron of the Exchequer.

CATHERLOGH COUNTY.

William Burton, Esq;
Sir Richard Butler, Bart.

Borough of Catherlogh.
Sir John Browne, Bart.
Charles Desvoeux, Esq;

Borough of Old Leighlin.
Hon. Henry Lawes Luttrell.
Hon. Arthur Acheson.

CAVAN COUNTY.

George Montgomery, Esq;
Charles Stewart, Esq;

Borough of Belturbet.
Sir Skeffington Smyth, Bart.
David Latouche, jun. Esq;

Borough of Cavan.
Thomas Nesbitt, Esq;
Right Hon. Henry Theophilus
Clements.

CLARE COUNTY.

Sir Hugh Dillon Massey, Bart.
Edward Fitzgerald, Esq;

Borough of Ennis.
Stewart Weldon, Esq;
John Thomas Foster, Esq;

CORK COUNTY.

James Bernard, Esq;
Right Hon. Robert King, com-
monly called Lord Kingsbo-
rough.

Borough of Baltimore.

Hon. Arthur Gore, commonly
called Lord Sudley.
Richard Longfield, Esq;

Borough of Bandon-Bridge.

Francis Bernard, Esq;
Lodge Morris, Esq;

Borough of Castlemartyr.

John Bennett, Esq;
Brodrick Chinnery, Esq;

Borough of Charleville.

Rogerfon Cotter, Esq;
John Bennett, Esq;
Richard St. George, Esq; in the
Room of John Bennett, Esq;
who made his Election to serve
for Castlemartyr.

Borough of Cloghnikelty.

Thomas Adderley, Esq;
Attiwell Wood, Esq;
Charles O'Neill, Esq; in the
Room of Attiwell Wood, Esq;
deceased.

City of Cork.

Right Honourable John Hely
Hutchinson.
Richard Longfield, Esq;
Augustus Warren, Esq; in the
Room of Richard Longfield,
Esq; declared not duly elect-
ed.

Borough of Doneraile.

Hon. Hayes Sentleger.
James Chatterton, Esq;

Town of Kinsale.

James Kearney, Esq;
Cromwell Price, Esq;

Town of Mallow.

Denham Jephson, Esq;
Sir James Laurence Cotter,
Bart.

Borough of Middleton.

Thomas Pigott, Esq;
Arthur Dawson, Esq;

Borough of Rathcormuck.

Sackville Hamilton, Esq;
Charles Francis Sheridan, Esq;
Right Hon. Thomas Orde, in
the Room of Sackville Hamil-
ton, Esq; who made his Elec-
tion to serve for the City of
Clogher.

Town of Youghal.

Robert Uniacke, Esq;
James Uniacke, Esq;

DONEGAL COUNTY.

Alexander Montgomery, Esq;
Henry Vaugh. Brooke, Esq;

Borough of Ballybannon.

William Ogilvie, Esq;
Sir Michael Cromie, Bart.

Borough of Donegall.

Honourable Arthur Gore, com-
monly called Lord Viscount
Sudley.
Henry Hatton, Esq;
Sir John Freke, Bart. in the
Room of Lord Viscount Sud-
ley, who made his Election
to serve for Baltimore.

Borough of Killybeggs.

Right Hon. Wil. Conyngham.
James Fitzgerald, Esq; of Dub-
lin.
William Colville, Esq; in the
Room of James Fitzgerald,
Esq; who made his Election
to serve for Tullisk.

Borough of Lifford.

Hon. Abraham Creighton.
Sir Nicholas Lawless, Bart.

Borough of St. Johnstown.

Hon. Robert Howard.
Hon. William Forward.

DOWN COUNTY.

Right Hon. Arthur Hill, com-
monly called Lord Viscount
Kilwarlin.
Hon. Edward Ward.

Borough of Bangor.

Hon. Edward Ward.
Edward Hunt, Esq;
Richard Mageniz, Esq; in the
Room of the Hon. Edward
Ward, who made his Elec-
tion to serve for the County of
Down.

Borough of Downpatrick.

Hon. Hercules Rowley.
Clotworthy Rowley, Esq;
Andrew Caldwell, Esq; in the
Room of the Hon. Hercules
Rowley, who made his Elec-
tion to serve for the County of
Antrim.

Borough of Hillsborough.

William Montgomery, Esq;
James Bailie, Esq;

Borough of Killyleagh.

Sir John Blackwood, Bart.
Robert Blackwood, Esq;

Borough of Newry.

Robert Ross, Esq;
Isaac Corry, the Younger, Esq;

Borough of Newtown.

William Brabazon Ponsonby,
Esq;
Lodge Morres, Esq;
Right Hon. John Ponsonby, in
the Room of Lodge Morres,
Esq; who made his Election
to serve for Bandon.

George Lowther, Esq; in the Room of William Brabazon Ponsonby, Esq; who made his Election to serve for the County of Kilkenny.

DROGHEDA COUNTY and TOWN.

Henry Meade Ogle, Esq;
John Forbes, Esq;

DUBLIN COUNTY.

Right Hon. Luke Gardiner.
Sir Edward Newenham, Kt.

City of Dublin.

Sir Samuel Bradstreet, Bart.
Travers Hartley, Esq;
Nathaniel Warren, Esq; in the Room of Sir Samuel Bradstreet, now one of the Justices of the Court of King's Bench.

University of Dublin.

Laurence Parsons, Esq;
Arthur Browne, Esq;

Borough of Newcastle.

David Latouche, jun. Esq;
John Latouche, Esq;

Borough of Swords.

Charles Cobbe, Esq;
John Hatch, Esq;

FERMANAGH COUNTY.

Colonel Mervyn Archdall.
Hon. Arthur Cole Hamilton.

Borough of Enniskillen.

Right Hon. Sir John Blaquiere, K. B.
John Mc. Clintock, Esq;

GALWAY COUNTY.

Right Hon. Denis Daly.

William Power Keating Trench, Esq;

Town of Athenry.

John Blakeney, Esq;
Theophilus Blakeney, Esq;

Town of Galway.

Right Hon. Denis Daly.
Denis Bowes Daly, Esq;
Anthony Daly, Esq; in the Room of the Right Hon. Denis Daly, who made his Election to serve for the County of Galway.

Borough of Tuam.

Right Hon. James Cuffe.
David Latouche, Jun. Esq;
Robert Day, Esq; in the Room of David Latouche, Esq; who made his Election to serve for Belturbet.

Sir Lucius O'Brien, Bart. in the Room of the Right Hon. James Cuffe, who made his Election to serve for the County of Mayo.

KERRY COUNTY.

Sir Barry Denny, Bart.
Richard Townsend Herbert, Esq;

Borough of Ardfert.

Right Hon. John Scott.
Sir Frederick Flood, Bart.
John Tydd, Esq; in the Room of the Right Hon. John Scott, who made his Election to serve for Portarlinton.

Borough of Dingle-Isle.

Hon. Hayes Sentleger.
Richard Boyle Townsend, Esq;
John Townsend, Esq; in the Room of the Hon. Hayes Sent-

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

v

leger, who made his Election to serve for Doneraile.

Borough of Tralee.

William Godfrey, Esq;
James Carigue Ponsonby, Esq;

KILDARE COUNTY.

Right Hon. Lord Charles Fitzgerald.

John Wolfe, Esq;

Borough of Athy.

Right Hon. Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

Thomas Burgh, Esq;

Borough of Harristown.

Sir Fitzgerald Aylmer, Bart.

Thomas Burgh, of Old Town, Esq;

Borough of Kildare.

Right Hon. Lord Henry Fitzgerald.

Simon Digby, Esq;

Borough of Naas.

Hon. John Bourke.

Hugh Carleton, Esq;

KILKENNY COUNTY.

William Brabazon Ponsonby, Esq;

Hon. Henry Welbore Agar.

Borough of Callen.

George Agar, Esq;

John Bourke O'Flaherty, Esq;

Borough of St. Canice, alias Iristown.

Hon. Richard Annesley.

John Monck Mason, Esq;

Borough of Innisfree.

George Ponsonby, Esq;

John Usher, Esq;

Borough of Gowran.

Hon. Henry Welbore Agar.

George Dunbar, Esq;

George Burdet, Esq; in the Room of the Hon. Henry Welbore Agar, who made his Election to serve for the County of Kilkenny.

City of Kilkenny.

Hon. William Cuffe.

John Butler, Esq;

Borough of Knocktopher.

Sir Hercules Langrishe, Bart.

Robert Langrishe, Esq;

Borough of Thomastown.

George Roth, Esq;

Patrick Welch, Esq;

KING'S COUNTY.

Sir William Parsons, Bart.

John Lloyd, Esq;

Borough of Banagher.

Peter Holmes, Esq;

Richard Malone, Esq;

Borough of Philipstown.

John Toler, Esq;

Henry Cope, Esq;

LEITRIM COUNTY.

Peter Latouche, Esq;

Right Hon. Henry Theophilus Clements.

John Gore, Esq; in the Room of the Right Hon. Henry Theophilus Clements, who was declared not duly elected.

Borough of Carrick-on-Shannon.

Right Hon. Thomas Pelham.

George Sandford, Esq;

Edward King, Esq; in the Room of George Sandford,

Esq; who made his Election to serve for the Borough of Roscommon.

Borough of Jamestown.

Sir Francis Hutchinson, Bart.
Henry Brewin, Esq;

LIMERICK COUNTY.

Hon. Hugh Maffey.
Sir Henry Hartstonge, Bart.

Borough of Askeaton.

Joseph Hoare, Esq;
Richard Griffith, the Younger, Esq;

Borough of Kilmallock.

Rt. Hon. John Fitzgibbon, Esq;
John Armstrong, Esq;

City of Limerick.

Right Honourable Edmund Sexten Pery, Speaker of the Hon. House of Commons.
Thomas Smyth, Esq;

LONDONDERRY COUNTY.

Right Hon. Thomas Conolly.
Right Hon. Edward Cary.

Borough of Coleraine.

Right Hon. Richard Jackson.
Right Hon. John Beresford.
Arthur Wolfe, Esq; in the Room of the Right Hon. John Beresford, who made his Election to serve for the County of Waterford.

City of Londonderry.

Sir Hugh Hill, Bart.
James Alexander, Esq;

Borough of Newtown Limavady.

John Staples, Esq;
John Richardson, Esq;

LONGFORD COUNTY.

Laurence Harman Harman, Esq;
Henry Gore, Esq;

Borough of Granard.

Robert Jephson, Esq;
George William Molyneux, Esq;

Borough of Laneshorough.

David Latouche, the Younger, Esq;
Robert Dillon, Esq;
Cornelius Bolton, Esq; in the Room of David Latouche, Esq; who made his Election to serve for Belturbet.

Borough of Longford.

Hon. Thomas Packenham.
Hon. Hercules Rowley.
Henry Stewart, Esq; in the Room of the Hon. Hercules Rowley, who made his Election to serve for the County of Antrim.

Borough of St. Johnstown.

Sir Thomas Fetherstone, Bart.
Nicholas Colthurst, Esq;

LOUTH COUNTY.

Right Hon. John Foster.
Thomas James Fortescue, Esq;

Borough of Ardee.

John Ruxton, Esq;
Charles Ruxton, Esq;

Borough of Carlingford.

Right Hon. Sir John Blaquiére, K. B.

Thomas Coghlan, Esq;

Borough of Dundalk.

Right Hon. Robert Jocelyn, commonly called Lord Viscount Jocelyn.
Hon. George Jocelyn.

Borough of Dunleer.

John William Foster, Esq;
Henry Coddington, Esq;

MAYO COUNTY.

Right Hon. James Cuffe.
Hon. Dennis Browne.

Borough of Castlebar.

Hon. James Browne.
Richard Longfield, Esq;
Thomas Warren, Esq; in the
Room of Richard Longfield,
Esq; who made his Election to
serve for Baltimore.

MEATH COUNTY.

Right Hon. Hercules Langford
Rowley.
Gorges Lowther, Esq;

Borough of Abbey.

Hugh Howard, Esq;
Thomas Bligh, Esq;

Borough of Duleek.

Andrew Ram, Esq;
Abel Ram, Esq;

Borough of Kells.

Hon. Thomas Taylor, com-
monly called Lord Headfort.
Hon. Hercules Langford Tay-
lor.

Borough of Navan.

John Preston, of Ballinter, Esq;
Joseph Preston, Esq;

Borough of Rathfriland.

John Forbes, Esq;
Peter Metge, Esq;
Arthur Forbes, Esq; in the
Room of John Forbes, Esq;
who made his Election to
serve for Drogheda.
John Metge, Esq; in the Room
of Peter Metge, Esq; now one

of the Barons of the Exche-
quer.

Borough of Trim.

Right Hon. John Pomeroy.
Hon. William Wesley Pole.

MONAGHAN COUNTY.

Charles Powell Leslie, Esq;
John Montgomery, Esq;

Borough of Monaghan.

Right Hon. Lieut. Gen. Robert
Cunninghame.
Thomas James Fortescue, Esq;
Right Honourable Theophilus
Jones, in the Room of Tho-
mas James Fortescue, Esq;
who made his Election to serve
for the County of Lowth.

QUEEN'S COUNTY.

Sir John Parnell, Bart.
John Warburton, Esq;

Borough of Ballynakill.

Sir Annesley Stewart, Bart.
Sir William Montgomery, Bart.
John Moore, the Younger, Esq;
in the Room of Sir Annesley
Stewart, who made his Elec-
tion to serve for Charlemont.

Borough of Maryborough.

Sir John Parnell, Bart.
Charles Henry Coote, Esq;
Right Hon. Sir Arthur Brooke,
Bart. in the Room of Sir John
Parnell, who made his Elec-
tion to serve for the Queen's
County.

Borough of Portarlington.

Right Hon. John Scott.
Thomas Kelly, Esq;
Sir Boyle Roche, Bart. in the
Room of Thomas Kelly, Esq;

now one of the Justices of the
Court of Common Pleas.

ROSCOMMON COUNTY.

Arthur French, Esq;
Sir Edward Crofton, Bart.

Borough of Boyle.

Right Hon. Henry King.
Peter Metge, Esq;
Robert Boyd, Esq; in the Room
of Pet. Metge, Esq; who made
his Election to serve for Ra-
toath.

Borough of Roscommon.

Sir Cornwallis Maude, Bart.
George Sandford, Esq; Captain
18th Dragoons.

Borough of Tullsk.

William Caulfield, Esq;
James Fitzgerald, Esq;

SLIGO COUNTY.

Charles O'Hara, Esq;
Owen Wynne, the Younger,
Esq;

Borough of Sligo.

Right Hon. Owen Wynne.
Right Hon. John Foster.
Thomas Dawson, Esq; in the
Room of the Right Hon. John
Foster, who made his Election
to serve for the County of
Lowth.

TIPPERARY COUNTY.

Henry Prittie, Esq;
Daniel Toler, Esq;

City of Cashell,

Richard Pennefather, jun. Esq;
William Pennefather, Esq;

Borough of Clonmell.

Hon. William Moore.
Stephen Moore, Esq;

Borough of Fetbard.

Cornelius O'Callaghan, Esq;
Thomas Barton, Esq;

TYRONE COUNTY.

James Stewart, Esq;
Nathaniel Montgomery, Esq;

Borough of Augher.

William Richardson, Esq;
Henry Vaughan Brooke, Esq;

Borough or City of Clogher.

Thomas St. George, Esq;
Sackville Hamilton, Esq;

Borough of Dungannon.

Right Hon. Edmund Sexten
Pery.

Hon. Thomas Knox.
Lorenzo Moore, Esq; in the
Room of the Right Hon. Ed-
mund Sexten Pery, who made
his Election to serve for the
City of Limerick.

Borough of Strabane.

Henry Pomeroy, Esq;
Sir John Stuart Hamilton, Bart.

WATERFORD COUNTY.

Right Hon. John Beresford.
Sir James May, Bart.

Borough of Dungarvan.

Marcus Beresford, Esq;
Godfrey Greene, Esq;

Borough of Lismore.

Right Hon. Sir Hen. Cavendish,
Bart.
Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart.

Borough of Tallagb.

Colonel Hugh Cane.
John Hobson, Esq;

City of Waterford.

Henry Alcock, Esq;
Robert Shapland Carew, Esq;

WESTMEATH COUNTY.

Hon. Robert Rochfort.
Richard Malone, Esq;
William Smyth, Esq; in the
Room of Richard Malone,
Esq; declared not duly elect-
ed.

Borough of Athlone.

Sir Richard St. George, Bart.
William Handcock, Esq;

Borough of Fore.

Hon. George Frederick Nugent,
commonly called Lord Delvin.
Gervais Parker Bushe, Esq;

Borough of Kilbeggan.

Henry Flood, Esq;
John Philpot Curran, Esq;

Manor of Mullingar.

Francis Hardy, Esq;
John Doyle, Esq; Major 103d
Foot.

WEXFORD COUNTY.

Right Hon. George Ogle.
Sir Vesey Colclough, Bart.

Borough of Bannow.

Henry Loftus, Esq;
Captain Nicholas Loftus Tot-
tenham.

Borough of Clomines.

Charles Tottenham, Esq; of
New Ross,
Captain Thomas Loftus, of 1st
Horse.

Borough of Enniscorthy.

William Alexander English,
Esq;

Mountifort Longfield, Esq;
Mountifort Longfield, Esq; and
Conway Heatly, Esq; in the
Room of William Alexander
English, Esq; and Mountifort
Longfield, Esq; their Election
being declared void.

Borough of Felbaird.

Right Hon. Charles Tottenham
Loftus.

Ponsonby Tottenham, Esq;
Ephraim Carrol, Esq; in the
Room of the Right Hon. Char-
les Tottenham Loftus, who
made his Election to serve
for the Town of Wexford.

*Borough of Newborough, alias
Gorey.*

Stephen Ram, Esq;
Major Richard Vowell, of the
66th Regiment.

Town of New-Ross.

Charles Tottenham, of Bally-
curry, Esq;
Robert Leigh, Esq;

Borough of Taghmon.

Dudley Hufley, Esq;
Hon. Richard Hely Hutchinson.

Town of Wexford.

Richard Nevill, Esq;
Right Hon. Charles Tottenham
Loftus.

WICKLOW COUNTY.

Nicholas Westby, Esq;
Hon. John Stratford.

Borough of Baltinglas.

Hon. John Stratford.
Warden Flood, Esq;
James Somerville, Esq; in the
Room of the Hon. John Strat-
ford, who made his Election
to serve for the County of
Wicklow.

x MEMBERS OF THE, &c.

Sir John Allen Johnston, Bart.
in the Room of James Somerville, Esq; declared not duly elected.

Borough of Blessington.

William Montgomery, Esq;

John Reilly, Esq;

Sir Richard Johnston, Bart. in
the Room of William Montgomery, Esq; who made his
Election to serve for Hillsborough.

Borough of Carysfort.

Right Hon. Sir Wm. Osborne, Bt.

Sir Thomas Osborne, Bart.

John Proby Osborne, Esq; in
the Room of the Right Hon.

Sir William Osborne, deceased.

Borough of Wicklow.

John Lloyd, Esq;

Edward Tighe, Esq;

Samuel Hayes, Esq; in the
Room of John Lloyd, Esq;
who made his Election to
serve for the King's County.

T H E
 PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER:
 O R,
 H I S T O R Y
 O F T H E
 PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
 O F T H E
 HOUSE of C O M M O N S
 O F
 I R E L A N D,

The FIRST SESSION of the FOURTH PARLIAMENT
 in the Reign of his present Majesty.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1783.

THIS day, being the first day of the meeting of the present parliament, pursuant to proclamation, and also to the writs that had issued for that purpose, the greater part of the members being met in their House, and *Thomas Ellis, Esq;* Clerk of the House, attending according to his duty,

A message was delivered by *Sir Willoughby Aston, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod* :

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" It is his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure, that you attend him immediately in the House of Peers."

Accordingly the members went up to attend his Excellency in the House of Peers, where the Lord Chancellor, by his Excellency's directions, said

B

“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ It is his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant’s pleasure, that you repair to your own House, and there chuse a fit person to be your Speaker, and having so done, that you present him here forthwith to his Excellency for his approbation.”

And the members being returned, the Clerk called over the names of the members from a list delivered to him by the Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper.

The Right Honourable *Thomas Pelham*, (Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant) arose, and pronounced a very handsome panegyric on the virtuous conduct, on the legal knowledge, on the serenity of temper, the firmness, the judgment, and incorruptible integrity of their late Speaker, so particularly exemplified during the last two sessions, and recommended to their choice a re-election of the man who filled their Chair with so much dignity.

The question being then put, the Right Honourable *Edmund Sexton Pery* was unanimously voted in the Chair as their Speaker. After which they returned to the House of Peers, and their Speaker being approved, they returned, and the members being called over, were severally sworn in.

Lord *Charles Fitzgerald* bore the most honourable testimony of the impression he received of their Speaker’s excellent qualities, whose whole conduct, he said, was his best panegyric.

The Speaker then took the Chair, and having returned his warmest thanks, said he hoped for the same degree of unanimity in the House which he had hitherto experienced.

Mr. Speaker reported that the House had attended his Excellency in the House of Peers, where his Excellency was pleased to make a speech to both Houses of Parliament; of which, Mr. Speaker said (to prevent mistakes) he had obtained a copy, which he read to the House, and the same was afterwards read by the Clerk at the table, and is as follows:

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ It is with more than ordinary satisfaction that, in obedience to his Majesty’s commands, I meet you in the full possession and enjoyment of those constitutional and commercial advantages which have been so firmly established in your last parliament. The sacred regard, on the part of Great-Britain, to the adjustment made with Ireland at that period, has been abundantly testified by the most unequivocal proofs of sincerity and good faith.

“ It will ever be my wish, as it is my duty, to promote the mutual confidence of both kingdoms, and the uniting them in sentiments as they are in interest, such an union must produce the

most solid advantages to both, and will add vigor and strength to the empire.

"I sincerely congratulate you on the happy completion of his Majesty's anxious endeavours to restore the blessings of peace to his faithful people. The establishment of the public tranquillity is peculiarly favourable at this period, and will naturally give spirit and effect to your commercial pursuits. Both kingdoms are now enabled to deliberate with undivided attention on the surest means of increasing their prosperity, and reaping the certain fruits of reciprocal affection.

"I have the highest satisfaction in acquainting you of the increase of his Majesty's domestic happiness, by the birth of another princess.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have ordered the proper officers to lay the national accounts before you. From them you will be enabled to judge of the circumstances of the kingdom; and I rely upon your wisdom and loyalty to make such provision as shall be fitting for the honourable support of his Majesty's government.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The miseries of an approaching famine have been averted by the blessing of Divine Providence upon the measures which the Privy Council advised; the good effects of which were soon visible in the immediate reduction of the price of grain, and the influx of a valuable and necessary supply to the market. Any temporary infringement of the laws to effect such salutary ends, will, I doubt not, receive a parliamentary sanction.

"Among the many important objects which demand your attention, I recommend to your consideration laws for regulating the judicature of the Court of Admiralty, and for making a new establishment of the Post Office.

"The Linen Manufacture being the staple of your country, it is needless for me to recommend perseverance in the improvement of that most important article.

"The fishery on your coasts will claim your attention as a promising source of wealth to this kingdom, and the encouragements granted to it will, no doubt, be regulated by you in the manner most likely to produce the best effect, and least subject to fraud and imposition.

"The Protestant Charter Schools, an institution founded in wisdom and humanity, are also most eminently intitled to your care.

"I recommend likewise to your attention the proposals adopted by government for providing an asylum for the distressed Gene-

vans. It well becomes the generosity of the people of Ireland to extend their protection to ingenious and industrious men, who may prove a valuable acquisition to this country, which they have preferred to their own. But in forming this establishment, you will doubtless consider it as a part of your duty to avoid unnecessary expence, and ultimately to secure the utmost advantages to your country.

“ I anticipate the greatest national benefits from the wisdom and temper of parliament, when I consider that the general election has afforded you an opportunity of observing the internal circumstances of the country, and of judging by what regulations you may best increase its industry, encourage its manufactures, and extend its commerce.

“ In the furtherance of objects so very desirable to yourselves, I assure you of every good disposition on my part; sensible that in no manner I can better fulfil the wishes and commands of our gracious sovereign, than by contributing to the welfare and happiness of his loyal subjects. With an honest ambition of meriting your good opinion, and with the warmest hope of obtaining it, I have ventured upon my present arduous situation, and with sentiments pure and disinterested towards you, I claim your advice and firmly rely upon your support.”

Lord Sudley then rose, and moved an address of thanks to his Majesty for the speech that day delivered from the throne. When he recollected that the ports of the kingdom were now open, and took a comparative view of our former situation with that of the present day, he could not restrain his congratulations of looking up with gratitude to that sovereign whose benign influence had tended to accomplish so great a purpose. He then read the address.

The humble ADDRESS of the KNIGHTS, CITIZENS and BURGESSES, in Parliament assembled, to the KING's most excellent MAJESTY.

“ *Most gracious Sovereign,*

“ WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your Majesty with sentiments of the most unfeigned attachment to your royal person and government, and to offer to your Majesty our grateful thanks for the appointment of a nobleman to the government of this kingdom, whose justice, integrity and abilities afford the best-founded expectations of national happiness and prosperity under his administration.

“ The sincerity and good faith of Great-Britain, so abundantly testified by the sacred regard shewn on her part to the adjustment of our constitution and commerce, demand our warmest acknow-

ledgments ; while we enjoy the full possession of those constitutional and commercial advantages which were so firmly established in the last parliament.

“ We shall earnestly concur in any measure that may confirm and strengthen the mutual confidence of both kingdoms, and their union in sentiments as well as in interest. From thence the most solid advantages must arise to both kingdoms, and vigour will be added to the strength of the empire.

“ Already do we feel the blessings of peace; and we intreat your Majesty to accept our humble thanks for the happy completion of your anxious endeavours to restore that inestimable blessing to your faithful people. We hope now to reap the fruits of our extended commerce, and in our deliberations we shall look upon the increasing prosperity of Great-Britain with that regard which must be the effect of reciprocal affection.

“ As affectionate subjects, deeply interested in the happiness of our beloved sovereign, we learn with the highest satisfaction the increase of that happiness in the birth of another prince.

“ We will immediately inspect the national accounts and happy in your Majesty's just reliance upon our loyalty, we will make such provision as shall be fitting for the honourable support of your Majesty's government, consistently with the abilities of the nation.

“ We adore the mercy of divine providence in averting from this people the miseries of impending famine ; and we will cheerfully concur in a parliamentary sanction of those wise and salutary measures which government pursued by the advice of the Privy Council.

“ We shall lose no time in the necessary manner for regulating the judicature of the Court of Admiralty, and for making a new establishment of the Post Office.

“ We shall industriously persevere in the improvement of our Linen Manufacture ; nor shall we omit an attention to the Fishery, that promising source of industry and wealth ; and we shall endeavour to regulate the encouragements granted to it, so as to produce the best effects, and to prevent frauds and imposition.

“ We shall likewise extend our care to the Protestant Charter-Schools.

“ We shall readily forward the liberal intentions of government to provide an asylum for the distressed Genevans : ingenious men have a claim to the protection of a generous nation ; but our own country is no less intitled to that care, which it is our duty to exert, in avoiding unnecessary expence, and securing the utmost advantage from the settlement of the emigrants.

“ We trust that the wisdom and temper of this parliament will be manifested in all its proceedings ; and we shall endeavour to profit by every opportunity which circumstances have afforded us of

observing the internal state of the country, and judging what regulations may best encourage and extend its industry, manufactures and commerce.

“ Having constantly experienced the beneficence of our gracious sovereign, in contributing to the welfare and happiness of his faithful subjects, we lay at your Majesty’s feet the tribute of grateful hearts, earnestly beseeching the divine goodness long to continue the blessings of your Majesty’s auspicious reign over a happy, united and loyal people.”

Mr. *Tottenham Loftus* seconded the address, accompanied with the usual panegyric on the sovereign and his government.

After the Speaker read the address, (Mr. *Corry* of Newry,) after taking great pains to shew that what he was about to propose, was not to be considered as an opposition motion, or in the least degree tending to disturb that harmony and unanimity which the House then happily enjoyed, but rather to call to their recollection a circumstance that had most unaccountably been omitted, observed, that though his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had happily and auspiciously arrived at his age of twenty-one years, no notice had been taken thereof, notwithstanding that, as the usual compliment was paid to his Majesty by congratulating him on the birth of a princess, he thought a proper opportunity offered of paying not only a respect of the highest quality to his Majesty, but one to the heir apparent of this kingdom, by congratulating his Majesty on his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales attaining the completion of his twenty-first year, which happened on the twelfth of August last;—that an event so important to the nation, upon which the people’s happiness so much depended, and which added such strength and security to the state, and so much to his Majesty’s domestic happiness, should not be passed over in silence, especially at this time, when the happy effects of royal favour and attention extended to this country, demanded every return of gratitude and affection; and the circumstance of the heir apparent attaining his years of majority, must so nearly concern both the crown and the people, that it ought to be a subject of mutual congratulation—therefore, that he would by way of amendment, move these words :

“ And to congratulate with his Majesty, and to assure him of
“ the joy of this country, at his Royal Highness the Prince of
“ Wales having happily and auspiciously attained the age of
“ twenty-one years,”

After a short pause or silence in the House, and some little whispering of the Secretary, the Attorney-General (Mr. *Yelverton*) rose up and said the amendment proposed was without precedent; for no Prince of Wales had ever been complimented on such an occa-

sion—that the address was generally an echo of the speech, that no mention had been made therein of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and to introduce it in the address would be highly improper, for had it been necessary, it would certainly have taken its rise at the framing of the speech; but if the Hon. Member thought proper to withdraw his present motion for an amendment to the address, and introduce in future a compliment of the kind to his Royal Highness, it should meet his hearty concurrence.

Mr. *Corry* confessed he would have been much better pleased had the circumstance been originally attended to in framing both the speech and the address, or if any gentleman (applying to the Treasury Bench) would shew a mode more respectful to his Majesty, in which it could be introduced, he was ready to comply.

Mr. *Yelverton*.—As the Hon. Gentleman seems to desire the aid of this Bench, I must take the liberty of saying, that if he will consider his amendment, he will find it totally inapplicable to the address of this day. This nation, celebrated for loyalty, does not now want to shew proofs of her attachment to our gracious sovereign; we all rejoice in the happiness of the crown, and feel the highest respect and love for the heir apparent; but, having said this, give me leave to add, that were we to agree to this motion, unprecedented on the journals of England or Ireland, it might be supposed that the House reproved his Majesty for not having directed the Viceroy in his speech to both Houses to announce such a joyful event; an event, however, which Majesty never notifies but when he desires aid for the establishment of the heir apparent; but if the Hon. Gentleman will withdraw his amendment, and offer it to the House as a substantive motion, there can be no doubt of its meeting general approbation.

Mr. *Corry* said, that at this time, when the nation, raised to consequence and power under his Majesty's happy auspices, feels her own dignity, it would be a wise measure by every mark of respect, to attach the Royal House; and it would be wise to confirm this attachment *even by a new procedure*. The present motion goes to convey a compliment to his Majesty, nor is it altogether a new procedure; there are many precedents of similar conduct on the part of parliament. Upon the arrival of the late Prince of Wales in England, parliament congratulated his Majesty, as they did also on his marriage, though neither event was mentioned in the speech from the throne. Parliament condoled with his late Majesty on the death of the Prince of Wales, and with his present on that of the Princess; none of these circumstances had been notified in the speech, nor were they of more importance than the Prince having passed his minority; I therefore think the present a fair parliamentary measure, well warranted by precedent, and hope the King's Attorney-General will not be the person to stand out against it.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon*.—The mention of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales being at age would be improper in the highest degree, as it was not noticed in the speech, and that they were not possessed by any means of the matter or assured that his Highness had reached at his one and twentieth year.

Mr. *Corry* said, that it was an æra of public notoriety, and besides that by referring to the speech in which the birth of his Royal Highness in 1762, was announced, and adding one and twenty years to that time, it would, without great skill in arithmetic, be found that his Royal Highness was of age in 1783.

To which Mr. *Fitzgibbon* replied—The Hon. Gentleman's motion should then run thus : "Your faithful Commons having searched in their journals, do find, that by the speech from the throne, announcing the birth of his Royal Highness in 1762, and having added twenty-one years to that time, do further find that his Royal Highness has in this year, 1783, attained his year of majority ;" we do, therefore, congratulate with your Majesty, &c. &c. &c.

Mr. *Corry* remained firm as to the propriety of his motion, and observed, that the echoing of the speech as an indispensable form of parliament, was a doctrine that he would reprobate ; that if the House had always confined itself in its address to the strict letter of the speech, Ireland would not be in the happy situation it at present enjoys ; for by breaking through that *form*, the great man, whose memory all good men reverence, and whose death the nation deplores (the excellent Hufsey Burgh) obtained a free trade for Ireland.

Mr. *Corry* was at last induced to withdraw his motion for the present, under the idea of making it the foundation of a future address to his Majesty.

Mr. *George Ogle* reported from the committee, appointed to draw up an address of thanks to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, for his excellent speech to both Houses of Parliament, that they had drawn up an address accordingly, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, where the same was read, paragraph by paragraph, and agreed unto by the House, and is as follows :

The humble ADDRESS of the KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, and BURGESSES, in Parliament assembled, to his Excellency ROBERT, EARL of NORTHINGTON, LORD LIEUTENANT GENERAL, and GENERAL GOVERNOR of IRELAND.

"May it please your Excellency,

"WE, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your

Excellency our sincere thanks, for your most excellent speech from the throne. We consider it as a strong proof of his Majesty's gracious attention to the happiness and prosperity of Ireland, that he has been pleased to commit the government of this kingdom to your Excellency, in whose firmness, justice and integrity, we place the highest confidence that the powers of government will be directed to the true interest of the people.

"We trust that your Excellency will lay before his Majesty the faithful and affectionate duty of his loyal subjects of Ireland, and represent their cordial regard to Great Britain in its full light, thereby strengthening the mutual confidence of both kingdoms, and uniting them inseparably in sentiment as they are in interest.

"We will assiduously apply ourselves to the consideration of the many important objects which your Excellency has recommended to our attention. And we cannot refrain from acknowledging with gratitude the interest which your Excellency takes in the prosperity of this kingdom, when in the very nature of those objects we trace the just and generous spirit which points them out to us.

"We will cheerfully grant such supplies as, after a proper investigation of the national accounts, shall appear to be fitting for the honourable support of his Majesty's government, considering the abilities of the country.

"Convinced of your Excellency's disposition to promote the welfare and happiness of this kingdom, we shall prove ourselves not unworthy the confidence you are pleased to repose in us, by contributing our best endeavours to the ease and honor of your Excellency's administration."

Lord *Sudley* moved an address of thanks to the different corps of Volunteers of Ireland, for their effectual support to the civil magistrates, suppressing all tumults and riots, and preserving peace and good order throughout the kingdom.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That the thanks of this House be given to the Volunteers, for their spirited endeavours to provide for the protection of their country, and for their ready and frequent assistance of the civil magistrate, in enforcing the due execution of the laws.

Ordered, That the Sheriffs of the different counties and counties of cities and towns do communicate the above resolution to the several Volunteer corps of this kingdom.

After some immaterial business the House adjourned till to-morrow.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1783.

Mr. *Foster* made several motions, for necessary regulations in the conducting of contested elections before the House. Agreed to.

He also at the same time observed, that the adjournment of the House, when it should arrive, would be only for a few days.

Sir *John Blaquiere* moved for a bill to amend an act of the 19th and 20th years of his present Majesty, for the naturalization of foreigners, which, he said, was to enlarge the immunities of foreign Protestants. Agreed to.

Mr. *Forbes* presented a petition from John William Foster, and William Dawson, Esqrs; complaining of an undue election for the borough of Dundalk; which was ordered to be heard on the 20th of November next.

Mr. *Ponsonby* presented a petition from Benjamin O'Neal Stratford, Esq; against Warden Flood, Esq; and the Hon. John Stratford, complaining of an undue election for Baltinglass. Referred to be heard on the 10th of November next.

Mr. *Metge* presented the petition of William Chapman, Esq; complaining of an undue election for the borough of Athboy. Referred to the 23d of November next.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* presented the petitions of Adam Colclough, and Messrs. Grogan, against the infringement of their franchise by Sir Vesey Colclough, in the election at Enniscorthy. Referred to the 5th of November next.

Mr. *Corry* moved that the proper officer do lay before the House, the whole amount of the receipts of Hearth-money for two years last; which was ordered accordingly.

Mr. *Corry* then observed, that he had another motion to make, the subject matter of which he thought would have been a wise measure to have taken up last session. He then moved, that a committee be appointed to inspect into the quantity imported of all goods, the growth of the East Indies, and the general regulations adopted in respect to the same. This brought on an enquiry from the Attorney-General, what the object of his motion tended to? When Mr. *Corry* confessed, he believed there was a very great inaccuracy in those regulations; and that Ireland has a right to trade for, and import India goods from any part of the world not restricted by her own laws; since the monopoly of the East India Company did not run into this kingdom.

Mr. *Beresford* said, there were laws which prohibited the importation of East India goods from any part of Europe, but England.

Mr. *Corry* said, that the importation of them from England, was in the teeth of law, according to England's construction of the navigation-act, when applied to Ireland, unless we allowed two different constructions to be made of the same act: that this question of East India goods would put that *construction* and that *act* in issue; upon which the commerce of this country must be either established or annihilated.

Mr. *Corry's* motion was agreed to.

Mr. *Ponsonby* presented a petition from John Townsend, Esq; complaining of an undue election for Baltimore, in the county of Cork. Referred to the 12th of November.

Right Hon. *Luke Gardiner* moved, that the proper officer do lay before this House an account of the exports and imports of old and new drapery, dimity, and cotton, from March 25, 1781, to March 26, 1783, *ad valorem*. Ordered accordingly.

Mr. *Gardiner* said, his reasons for having these papers laid before this House, was in consequence of the very great importance of the trade in those branches to this country, which are not at this time upon a proper footing. He said, that he should not have taken up this measure, if he thought it would have been taken up by gentlemen in administration; that as he did not see any thing of it in the speech from the throne, he begged to be informed whether they intended to make any alteration in the duty of the goods manufactured in this country, or in the exports of the raw materials. He said, he hoped that this House would enter fully into this business, as it was a measure so exceedingly necessary, and that he would exert every effort in support of it.

Right Hon. *Thomas Pelham* said, that his Excellency had expressed assurances of concurring with this House in every measure which can promote the increase of the woollen manufacture of this country; and he has gone further, he has desired that the present state of the linen manufacture may be laid before this House, in order that the best judgment may be formed of the state of the trade of Ireland. He said, that the short time he has been here must apologize for his not knowing so much of the trade here at present; but that his wishes were to promote the welfare of this kingdom; and as far as his station permitted him, he would co-operate with this House in promoting the interest of this country.

Mr. *Gardiner* in reply said, that all he wished to know was, whether this subject had entered into the consideration of administration, and he was happy now in learning that it had. He had mentioned these important matters early in the sessions, in order to give gentlemen an opportunity of turning their thoughts on an object of so much importance to this nation. I have (says he) taken into this enquiry the state of the woollen and cotton manufacture; but he said he did not mean to confine himself to those alone, but to take into consideration all the goods manufactured in Ireland. That he had taken up this part as being most necessary to become the subject of investigation in this House at present. He had done his duty in mentioning this matter to the House, and should co-operate with the House in every measure to promote the advantage of Ireland.

The *Attorney-General* moved, that the proper officer do lay before the House the number of yards of linen and quantity of linen-yarn exported from the 25th of March, 1783; and then made two additional motions, specifying those sent into foreign markets, and those into the kingdom of Great-Britain.

Mr. *Gardiner* did not think the state of the trade of this country on a proper footing. The duties were not equalized, and no sort of notice was taken of this in the speech from the throne. He wanted to know if any duty was to be laid on such goods imported, and what on the raw material exported?

The resolutions were agreed to.

Mr. *Gardiner* moved, that the proper officer lay before the House an account of all the flour brought for two years past, either by land-carriage or the Canal, into Dublin. Ordered accordingly.

Lord *Sudley* presented the report on the address to his Majesty; as did Mr. *Ogle* on that to Lord Northington; and both were ordered to be brought to the Castle to-morrow.

Right Hon. *Luke Gardiner* said, he rose to make a motion that the thanks of this House be presented to our late Chief Governor Earl *Temple*. He said, that this nobleman had received addresses of thanks from every county in this kingdom for his conduct as Chief Governor, as every public measure carried with it so much wisdom and integrity, and in his private character he had concurred in every thing tending to the interest of Ireland, and had laid down such plans as would have been a national benefit, had he continued in the government of this nation. That he had been addressed from persons of all ranks whatever; and that nothing but the sanction of this House was necessary to render the thanks of the people of this country universal.

Mr. *Cuffe* said, that he would second the motion, having been witness to the many anxious days and nights he had spent in preparing plans to promote the welfare of this country, which (said Mr. *Cuffe*) had he staid long enough in Ireland to have put in execution, would, he doubted not, be highly approved of. He said he had not the honour of being in the confidence of the present administration, but was of opinion they had the interest of this country at heart.

Mr. *Rowley* also supported the address.

Mr. *Adderly* said he would oppose the motion, and assign his reason for dissenting from the vote of thanks. A clerk of his at the Barrack Board had embezzled the public money; as soon as it came to his knowledge, he waited on Lord *Temple*, and promised to make good the deficiency in a few months; the clerk also attended, and confessed he owed the money. He said Lord *Temple* lamented his situation—but as soon as he (Mr. *Adderly*) left that nobleman, the Crown Solicitor was ordered to proceed against him without mercy. Thus was he used with unheard of cruelty. He would be glad to know what good this MAN had done for Ireland—he insisted he had done nothing meritorious. The addresses presented to him were procured by himself—and that he very believed he was not a PROTESTANT, as his carriage

had been seen at the chapel doors in this city. He had heard of many addresses, but he believed they were all solicited and procured by the Earl himself.

Sir *Henry Hartstonge* assured the House the address from Limerick was not solicited, and that it contained the sentiments of the people at large of every religion.

Mr. *Adderly*. I confine myself to the address from the Roman Catholics.

Mr. *Cuffe* assured the Honourable Member, he had been a witness to the distress it gave Earl Temple, when justice compelled him to give orders for suing him, and that nothing but the welfare of the state could occasion it—He remarked that the last observation made by Mr. Adderly, put him in mind of an affair which happened when the late Earl of Chesterfield was Chief Governor here. Some persons very officiously waited on the viceroy to inform him his coachman was a Papist, to which the Earl replied, with his usual pleasantry, "It may be, but I will take care that he never shall drive me to mass."

The Right Hon. *John Beresford* said, he could assure the House, that the addresses from the county of Waterford to Earl Temple were spontaneous, and were never solicited. He had been many years in a public station, and been with Chief Governors relative to business, and declared he never saw such assiduity and attention to business in a Chief Governor, as he experienced in Earl Temple. When this House comes to investigate the public papers, they will see the economical hand of Lord Temple in a variety of instances.

Sir *Samuel Bradstreet*. I should not have expressed my sentiments of Lord Temple's conduct, the virtues of which are so thoroughly understood by the whole kingdom, but that an assertion fell from the Hon. Member on the floor, which makes it necessary for me to rise. He says, that addresses were procured in the several counties by Lord Temple himself; and being contradicted in that, he has thought proper to confine his assertion to the city of Dublin. It belongs to the office I have the honour to fill, to prepare addresses of the kind, when agreed on by the corporation; but I can with truth assert, that until the address was agreed on by the city, Lord Temple had no knowledge of it. I can make great allowance for the forenoon of the Hon. Member's feelings; he has felt Lord Temple; but, although justice required that the offence should be punished, yet I am satisfied the humanity of his lordship, had a tear of compassion for the offender.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* said, he could very well suppose that some gentlemen had opportunities of knowing the integrity and wisdom of Earl Temple; but in his opinion it was fit the House should have authentic evidence of it before they passed a vote of thanks to Lord Temple, who never met parliament. In his opinion, this

question should be postponed for a few days; they would then see whether he had the œconomical hand which had been mentioned.—Whether he deserves these encomiums or not. Public fame has not spoken of Lord Temple as he has been spoken of in this House; public fame represents Lord Temple as a jobber; therefore, if I am to give my vote this night, I will give this resolution a negative—If it is postponed, and I have authentic documents of his integrity and wisdom, I think I shall give him my vote, which in my present uninformed state I shall not do.

Right Hon. *John Scott* observing a pause in the House, arose and said—When this motion was introduced by a Right Honourable Member of amiable and distinguished character, and when I saw it so ably supported by the two Right Honourable Gentlemen who followed him, (Mr. *Kowley* and Mr. *Cuffe*) I did not think it possible that there could have been a single negative to it, especially as this House is only invited to declare collectively, these sentiments which every Irishman has spoken individually—this House is now only called upon to re-echo the voice of the whole nation, and to dignify it in the language of parliament.—I cannot indeed say that I am sorry to have found that in the whole Irish nation, there were but two persons disposed to resist the sense of their country—and *be it remembered that they were the debtors of our Sovereign Lord the King*; but their reasons and their motives sufficiently explain themselves, and in my apprehension, compleat the panegyric which a grateful nation bestows upon a most virtuous and deserving Governor. Indeed nothing less than Lord Temple's firmness could have resisted so many engaging qualifications as assaulted his humanity in the person of the Honourable Gentleman. But to take leave of *him*, and apply myself to the Right Honourable Gentleman who principally opposes this address, and says roundly, that common fame calls Lord Temple a jobber, adding that common fame may be a common liar, I do assert, not knowing from what cavern the Right Honourable Gentleman has received the report, *impersonated* as she may be, and represented through whatever lips she is, I say, a common liar, if she says that Lord Temple was a jobber—I received no favour from Lord Temple, or from his administration—I was not even connected with him by the common ties of conviviality, but I stand forth an impartial witness of his conduct and his merit, to maintain the consistency and characteristic generosity of Ireland. I knew Lord Temple to be a man devoted to public business, singularly endowed of uncommon firmness and talents, and indefatigable in the pursuit of every object that could contribute to the honour or advantage of this kingdom. No less than thirty counties have offered him their voluntary thanks, and yet the Right Honourable Gentleman wants authentic evidence to justify his approbation.—I will give him more authentic evidence—the umpire of the Almighty, *conscience*, the conscience of eve-

ry honest man in this nation.—But the Right Honourable Gentleman says, postpone the question; to procrastinate, is to evade.

The man convinc'd against his will,
Is of the same opinion still.

But for the sake of the present administration also, I hope there will not be a negative.—No man who wishes well to it, especially the Right Honourable Gentleman, considering how connected and circumstanced, can prudently oppose this motion. I have not the honour of knowing much of his present Excellency, but I have heard his character to be that of a gentleman, and his feelings to be those of nobility; and I am persuaded, that he would disdain the support of any man who offered to adorn him—by laurels pillaged and torn from the brow of his predecessors—there will be praise sufficient for them both, and I hope and doubt not they will both equally deserve it. I beg pardon, for having taken up the House so long upon a subject upon which I thought I should not have been permitted, much less have found it *necessary*, to articulate a word; but if in the warmth of what I have felt, and what too hastily I may have delivered, any thing offensive unluckily has escaped me, it was far from my thoughts or my intention, my purpose being, if possible, to conciliate all men, and not to offend any.

Sir Henry Cavendish arose, apparently much agitated, and said, that most conscientious gentleman did not confine himself to assign reasons for his own conduct, but thought proper to attribute motives to others, who, he begged to say, are not debtors to the King. [Mr. Scott interrupting, said *they were*.] Sir Henry proceeded to say, that Mr. Scott had raised a laugh at the expence of parliamentary decorum, and that that gentleman possessed the art of treating matters of the greatest moment with levity, and turning them into ridicule. That he (Sir Henry,) had been a loser by suits with the crown, in which, he doubted not, the Right Honourable Gentleman, when a servant of the crown, had been a sufficient gainer.

Mr. Scott rose again, and said, smiling, he believed the House expected he should say a word in reply; he observed the tones of the Right Honourable Gentleman, were the tones of discontent, and he meant, if he could, to soften them. He added, I admit the charge, heinous as it is, that I am no enemy to laughter, perhaps it may be, that I am not afraid of being for ever ridiculous. The Right Honourable Baronet seems to complain that I have availed myself of his misfortunes; but if it be his misfortune to be for ever in the wrong, how can I help being sometimes in the right, who generally differ from him. I will say but one word more—The Right Hon. Gentleman seems to think there is

fill a balance in his favour, to which in the words of Sir Wilful Witwould, I answer, "*If I still owe you any thing, make out your bill, cousin, and I'll pay you off.*"

Mr. *St. George* said, he was not a debtor of our lord the king, and yet he must give his dissent to the resolution proposed—that there were some characters of such a nature, that the less he said about them the better; and he looked upon Lord Temple's, as a Chief Governor, in that light: that with respect to the department to which he belonged, his lordship left the establishment of the barracks greater than he found it, and under his own new ideas of reform, had laid the foundation of a considerable increase of expence to the kingdom under that head: that he admitted his lordship deserved praise for his great assiduity in business, and he believed he could not be charged with want of integrity to the public; but that he doubted his wisdom, for he certainly wanted judgment: that in his opinion there had not been any Lord Lieutenant here during the present century, more unfit to govern this kingdom as a representative of Majesty, than Lord Temple, for he was of an arbitrary disposition, and if he had remained here long enough to hold a session of parliament, he was confident it would neither have contributed to his honour, or to the prosperity or quiet of the people; that he therefore thought any change of such a Chief Governor would have been an advantage to the kingdom; but he looked upon the acquisition in his room, of a nobleman of so excellent a disposition as our present Chief Governor to be a most fortunate circumstance for the nation in these critical times. That with these sentiments he could by no means concur in a motion for an address of thanks, where it appeared to him to be so little merited: that he was sorry the subject had been introduced, as otherwise he would have remained silent thereupon; but that now he could not avoid giving his most hearty negative to the motion.

Mr. *Clements* said he had transacted public business with Earl Temple, and never met in any Chief Governor one more indefatigable, or who had the interests of Ireland more at heart.

Sir *John Blaquiére* also joined, and ably maintained in the same sentiments; as did Mr. *Fitzgibbon*, and several other members.

A division having ensued, the numbers for the address were 127; against it, one, besides the Tellers.

Tellers for the ayes, Mr. *Gardiner* and Mr. *Rowley*.

Tellers for the noes, Sir *Henry Cavendish* and Mr. *St. George*.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* said he had a motion to make respecting the interest of money; but as he wished the members of administration would take it off his hands, he would defer it for another opportunity.

It was accordingly agreed that this matter should be taken into consideration between this and Christmas.

Several motions were made for writs, in the room of members who took their seats for other places; after which the House adjourned 'till to-morrow.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1783.

Mr. *Hartley* moved for the continuance of the importation of corn at the small duty, as the poor were in a miserable situation, and bread at little more than 7lb. the shilling; added to this, that there were ships at Liverpool and other places, ready to bring such wished-for relief to this kingdom.

Mr. *Foster* was getting up to speak, when Mr. *Pelham* acquainted the House that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant was ready to receive the address; whereupon the Speaker and the House went up with the address.

Petitions were presented from the Right Hon. Robert Stewart, complaining of an undue election for the county of Down; and from Mr. Bagwell, complaining of the same in the city of Cork; which were all received, and days appointed for going into committees.

Mr. *Corry* moved, that the committee to investigate the regulations for East-India goods, should have leave to sit notwithstanding any adjournment of the House.

The *Attorney General* observed, that the great alterations which had lately occurred not only in our own state, but also in that of England, demanded some time, and a more mature consideration, than taking up so minute a part at this time. A system of commercial laws must be entered into, and he could not help observing, that this single enquiry upon one branch of commerce, was frivolous, compared to the other great object.

Mr. *Corry* was astonished at the Right Hon. Gentleman's calling it a minute part. And in what sense did he mean to apply the term frivolous? If he meant to establish a great commercial system, was it not evident that it must be accomplished by a minute estimation of seperate parts to form the grand system he adverted to. It was not fair to bestow the epithet frivolous on a matter that would appear of as much importance as any that could come before the House this season. It was a motion involving not only commerce, but constitution and law, and should not be treated with the idea of being frivolous, after what was said in the last paragraph of the speech from the throne, which so strongly recommended the care of our commerce. The House ought immediately to proceed on the great business of commerce.

He said he was amazed, after that to see a minister rise to oppose sentiments so delivered.

He would submit himself to the opinion of the House, but he looked upon it as extraordinary to hear such language, particularly from a person of such abilities and knowledge as the Right Hon. Gentleman.

The *Attorney General* said, he meant not to have the commercial code, which was in view, frittered away in parts, when the whole could be comprehended together. The Gentleman might amuse himself by taking up such a single part in his closet, though every man in the House was equally concerned in the subject. He could not help calling it frivolous indeed compared with the magnitude of the greater system in contemplation; nor could the Hon. Gentleman imagine he could command the House.

Mr. *Corry* congratulated the House on the great commercial system alluded to as in forwardness at least in contemplation, which he hoped soon to see brought forward, and declared, if it was the wish of the House, he would withdraw his motion. But he could not refrain from observing, that no general object could be of superior consequence, to the separate one he introduced.—How could the whole be accomplished, but by taking it up in separate parts? Were the regulations for an American, an East and West India, and the general European trade, to be brought forward in a promiscuous mass, without any distinct investigation? The Right Hon. Gentleman did not surely imagine, that his accidental sitting on the treasury bench, from which he happened to speak, could have furnished him with the notion of *commanding* the House. He was not at all inspired with such ministerial notions.

The *Attorney General* rose to explain, and Mr. *Corry* withdrew his motion.

Mr. *Grattan's* rising to speak, called the attention of the House.—He was unable, he said, to deliver his sentiments with any degree of justice to his feelings, on the subject he was going to speak upon.—The death of the late Chief Baron Burgh was too deep a wound to the community at large, and to that House in particular, to need any additional colouring from any thing he could say on the occasion. He then said that the late Chief Baron's circumstances at the time of his death were very inadequate to his station. Four daughters and a son of his, were left unprovided for, and his many virtues and his public services demanded that his children should be the children of the public. He moved, that an humble address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, requesting him, to represent to his Majesty, the earnest intreaty of that

House, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to make such provision as his Majesty shall think proper for the children of the late Chief Baron Burgh, as a reward for his integrity and ability in the seat of justice, and the services he has rendered this country.

Mr. *Ogle* rose to deliver his tribute of friendship and sorrow for the death of the great and good man who was the melancholy subject of the regret and gratitude of that House and the nation.

Mr. *Yelverton* delivered a just eulogium to the memory of his friend. He did not know, he said, which character in the sphere of life he had to admire him in most; whether in his private or public character, as the humane advocate for the unfortunate, the tender husband and father, or to revere him on the bench, as the dispenser of impartial justice tempered with clemency. But when he came to speak of him as a friend, his heart seemed suffocated and there he wanted utterance. The whole House sympathized, and the question on the motion being put, the assent of parliament was never given with greater pleasure, and it was carried unanimously.

Resolved, *Nem. Con.* That an humble address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, that he will lay before his Majesty the humble desire of this House, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to make provisions for the children of the Right Hon. the late Lord Chief Baron Burgh, in consideration of his integrity and ability in the seat of justice, and for the services he has done to this country.

The Right Hon. Mr. *Speaker* reported that he had, pursuant to order, communicated, by letter, to Admiral Lord Rodney, the resolution of this House of the 30th of May, 1782, to which his Lordship was pleased, by letter, to return the answer following:

S I R,

London, February 18, 1783.

AFTER so many months have elapsed, I fear I shall on first sight appear to have been guilty of the greatest negligence and inattention, not sooner to have acknowledged the honour of having received your letter of the 5th of June, conveying to me the resolution of thanks of the Hon. House of Commons of Ireland; but I beg leave to assure you that when the last packet arrived from Jamaica, which brought your letter, I was labouring under a very severe fit of illness, which prevented me from earlier expressing my sincere thanks to you for the obliging manner in which you have conveyed to me so

flattering a mark of favour from the House of Commons of Ireland, and I must now wholly rely upon you, Sir, being myself unequal to the task, to represent to that Hon. House my most grateful acknowledgments for that approbation of my services. I have most cheerfully obeyed your commands in transmitting the resolutions of thanks to the officers and men under my command, to whom every degree of praise is due. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble Servant,

R O D N E Y.

*The Right Hon. Edmond Sexton
Pery, Speaker of the House
of Commons, Ireland.*

Mr. Grattan moved an address of thanks to his Excellency Gen. Elliot, for his gallant defence of Gibraltar; and another address of thanks to Lord Viscount Howe, for relieving that fortress. Ordered unanimously.

Resolved, *Nem. Con.* That the thanks of this House be given to the Right Hon. Sir George Augustus Elliot, Governor of Gibraltar, for the services he has done to his king and country, in the gallant defence of Gibraltar.

Resolved, That the Speaker do communicate the said resolution to the Right Hon. General Elliot.

Resolved, *Nem. Con.* That the thanks of this House be given to Richard, Lord Viscount Howe, Admiral of the Blue, for his able and gallant conduct in relieving Gibraltar by the fleet under his command.

Resolved, That the Speaker do communicate the said resolution to Lord Viscount Howe.

And then the House adjourned until Monday the 27th instant.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1783.

The House having met, according to adjournment, Sir Arthur Brooke, Sir Edward Newenham, Henry Flood, Esq; Right Hon. Owen Wynne, and some other members were sworn in, and took their seats.

Sir Francis Hutchinson moved, that a committee should be appointed to revise the laws relative to the trial of controverted elections.

The Hon. *John Bourke* said, that when petitions appeared frivolous, some compensation should be made to the party petitioned against.—And Mr. *Mason* said, that he wished to have it introduced into the revised bill, “that whenever a petition was voted frivolous, malicious or vexatious, the party petitioning should incur the high displeasure of the House.”

Mr. *Hartley* presented the petition of John Bateman and Thomas Johnson, Esqrs. against Sackville Hamilton and Thomas St. George, Esqrs. the sitting members for Clogher.—Ordered to be heard the 29th of January next.

Sir *Edward Newenham* presented a petition from Robert Bolton and Robert Moleworth, Esqrs. complaining of an undue election for Swords, in favour of John Hatch, and Charles Cobbe, Esqrs. the returned members. Referred to the 8th of November.

The petition of Sir John Browne, was presented, complaining of the undue election of the Hon. Denis Browne, for the county Mayo; which was referred to Tuesday the 23d of November.

The petition of Augustus Warren, Esq; was presented, complaining of the undue election of the Right Hon. John H. Hutchinson, for the city of Cork. To be heard with Mr. Bagwell's petition in November.

The proper officers presented at the bar a state of the hearth-money account, and the ordnance establishment.

The Clerk of the Privy Council presented at the bar, the late proclamation for laying an embargo on corn, bread, &c. and the resolution of the council of the 9th of June last, advising that measure.

Right Hon. *John Foster* moved for the order of the day, viz. to take into consideration the speech of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant. His Excellency's speech was accordingly read, and Mr. *Foster* then moved, that a supply be granted to his Majesty, and that the House will to-morrow morning resolve itself into a committee of the whole House for the purpose of granting his Majesty a supply.

The proper officer presented at the bar, pursuant to the order of the House, an account of the quantity of new drapery, and an account of the quantity of upholstery imported for two years, ending March 1783. Also, an account of the quantity of linens exported for that period.

Right Hon. *John Foster* moved the following resolution, which he said he had copied *verbatim* from the English Journals, and which he hoped, would prove essentially useful in conducting trials of controverted elections.

“Resolved, that in all trials of controverted elections for counties, the petitioner shall on the first day of trial, by himself or by his agents, deliver to the sitting member or his agents a list of all voters objected to, and the causes of objection; also, that the

sitting member, by himself or his agents, deliver to the petitioner a list of voters by him objected to, and his causes of objection.

Mr. *Beresford*, junior, observing that the resolution went only to counties, moved, that it should be extended to cities and boroughs also.

The *Attorney General* concurred, and the resolution passed unanimously.

Mr. *Hartley* pathetically described the miserable situation of the poor of this city, arising from the extravagant price of bread. He said, he had mentioned the subject before the recess, when the price of bread was 7lb. 3oz. for a shilling; that he was then told eight or ten days would make a great alteration in favour of the poor, as in that space of time plenty of corn would be brought to market. That ten days had elapsed, and the loaf had increased but six drams, nor was there any appearance of a sudden augmentation; that the severe distress and bitter cries of the people for bread, demanded the interposition of their governors: that want of employment was indeed a heavy calamity, but when want of food was added, it became insupportable.

As his intention was to alleviate the distresses of the poor, he flattered himself his motion would meet with a favourable reception. A ship with eleven hundred barrels of wheat, was actually arrived in the river, and he relied on it, that ministry would not realise the fable of Tantalus, and let the people perish while relief was within their view; his motion he said, should be, "that an humble address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, praying his Excellency to direct the proper officers to receive bonds for the duties payable on corn imported, until a bill now in contemplation for regulating the corn trade, should be passed into a law." He said, he feared that the gentlemen who had much at heart the encouragement of tillage, had last session made a dangerous mistake, but he hoped to see it rectified in the present bill.

Mr. *Foster* said, that no one would more heartily concur with the Hon. Gentleman, to relieve the distresses of the poor than he; but though their end was the same, they differed widely as to the means, for what Mr. Hartley recommended would, in his opinion, operate fatally against the poor, by discouraging the farmer from tillage; for if the farmer found the laws liable to sudden alterations, and by the short mode of an address, he would relinquish tillage, as too hazardous an employment, and the country would be reduced to the state it was before the tillage laws were enacted. He said he was well assured by more than one hundred members of the House, and by his own observation, that the last harvest was a most plentiful and abundant one, and he therefore thought it better to wait for its effects upon the markets, than by

a hasty attempt to palliate a present inconvenience, lay the foundation of future mischief.

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* shewed the distressed state of Ireland previous to the tillage laws, when the people were fed with foreign corn, liable to every inconvenience of dearth. He displayed the advantages which had resulted from those laws, and asked, if they were liable to be altered or suspended upon every occasion, how farmers could be supposed to have any reliance upon them, or what inducement they could have to pursue tillage with industry. The measure of the late embargo could only be justified, he said, upon the ground of urgent necessity, to preserve the people from absolute famine; but was such a step to be now taken, when there was an abundant supply within the kingdom, it would be inexcusable upon any ground. He knew, he said, the purity of the Hon. Gentleman's (Mr. *Hartley's*) intentions, and the goodness of his judgment; he was, therefore, the more anxious least it should be supposed that he could suggest, that the scarcity of corn had arisen from free exportation.

The *Recorder*.—Gentlemen take it for granted, that no urgent necessity exists to force us upon this measure—but were they to view the multitudes of famishing wretches who faintly crawl through every street, they would be convinced of the urgent necessity, and unable to resist their entreaties.—There is no necessity for an eulogium upon the tillage laws to convince me of their utility—nor would it in any degree impeach their merit to relax them at this time—besides the public faith is engaged in this business—for the ship now arrived from the Baltic, and some others on the way, have all been sent upon a belief, that their cargoes might be freely entered, and if now sent back, must injure this nation in the opinion of foreigners. A violent step was taken last session, by lessening the bounty on corn. Let us now endeavour to repair it, by adopting the policy of our late excellent chief governor, who directed that the executive officers should take bonds for the duties of corn imported, relying on the wisdom of the legislature, at their next meeting, to cancel those bonds.

The Rt. Hon. *John Hely Hutchinson* (Provost) said he did not rise to oppose any expedient for the relief of the poor; but the harvest was a good one, though for the reason already stated, corn was not brought to market so soon as could be wished. In regard to any disappointment of foreign vessels, it was well known that the proclamation was decisive in its limits to the 15th of September; and though it might give temporary relief, it was highly productive of mischief, as it would raise the price of corn, if the motion did not pass, and then be an oppression, instead of relief, to the poor.

The *Recorder* said, that could not produce the effect, because it was well known, farmers must send in corn to obtain money to pay their rents.

Capt. *T. Burgh* desired to know how long the eleven hundred barrels of corn in question, would supply the city of Dublin ; for if, as he had good reason to believe, 1100 barrels of corn would feed the city but one day and an half, and by discouraging the farmers would keep back their corn from market, he thought it would be bad policy to feed the people one day and an half and keep them perhaps a month fasting.

Mr. *Hartley* now presented his motion to the Chair, " that the House would address his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, that he would order the proper officers to receive bonds for the duties of all corn imported, *for fourteen days from the present date.*"

Sir *H. Langrishe* said, there were numberless objections to the motion—that as a money matter, it ought to pass through a committee—that it could have no effect as to bringing corn from foreign markets, the time being too short—but it would operate as a deception, and making farmers imagine there was a scarcity, cause them to hoard their grain for the highest price. He said he was just returned from the country, and was convinced that the present thinness of the markets, was caused by the farmers being all engaged in sowing. Sowing indeed in vain, if the laws for the protection and encouragement of tillage, were to be dispensed with upon every occasion. The late embargo, and measures which accompanied it, were not taken up till after every county in the kingdom had been examined as to its state of provisions.

Mr. *Hartley* again urged the necessity of the measure ; he hoped he would not be considered as an enemy to duty on importation of foreign corn, except in cases of urgent necessity ; at the same time he thought the price 1l. 16s. was too high to be the rate to which the corn of our own growth must rise before the ports could be opened to admit a foreign relief.

Attorney General.—I consider this motion as totally inadmissible ; when we were alarmed with the near approach of famine, government did not venture to adopt this measure, till after the fullest investigation, and the closest enquiry into the unavoidable necessity of it ; convinced of that necessity *which only* could justify such a proceeding, the measure was adopted ; 'tis now proposed to set aside the laws of the land, which are sacred, and should not be even lightly spoken of, and upon what authority ? the opinion of the Hon. Gentleman, that it will serve the city of Dublin ; which opinion, however respectable, is, I apprehend, not sufficient. I am as well warranted to say, that in my opinion, dispensing with some particular law, will advantage another place ; my Right Hon. Friend may say the same, and so it may go round, till each man gets some particular law set aside for his particular purpose. I conceive a partial embargo would be unjust—there is a fact that the Hon. Gentleman does not yet seem to be informed of, and that is, that the embargo is taken off by proclamation, as a mark of respect to parliament, now sitting ; be-

sides, government were so conscious of the necessity of having the sanction of parliament to justify that embargo, that every speedy means will be taken to obtain an act of indemnity for it : I have prepared a bill for that purpose, but if the present motion should be carried, another act will be necessary to indemnify persons acting under it, and even (*as my friend behind me whispers*) to indemnify this House for assuming to dispense with the sacred facts of the legislature.—The question passed in the negative.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* moved, that the proper officers should lay before the House an account of all public money lodged in the national bank, in consequence of an address of the House to the Lord Lieutenant, requesting that he would please to direct the deputy vice treasurers, &c. &c. to deposit in the national bank whatever balance of public money should at any time remain in their hands.

Mr. *Clements* declared his readiness to comply with the intention of the resolution. His accounts were made up weekly, and the balance, in obedience to the Lord Lieutenant's order, paid into the bank.

Mr. *Foster* said, the bank being a great trading company, he did not think their clerks were warranted to discover their transactions—public credit was of too delicate a nature to allow it—he thought the officers of the Crown were the proper persons for the House to call upon, but submitted it to the Hon. Baronet, whether it would be prudent to make the daily transactions of the bank public.

Mr. *Gardiner*, with some warmth, opposed the opinion of his Right Hon. Friend, (Mr. *Foster*) that the officers of the bank were not subject to be called to account by the House. The bank, he said, was a great public undertaking, existing by act of parliament, and sanctioned by the faith of government, who had directed the public money to be deposited therein ; it was then to every intent and purpose a public object, its officers were the officers of the public, and as such liable to be called upon by the House to account for the public money, passing through their hands.

Mr. *Foster* explained himself—that he thought the vice treasurers and other officers to whom the orders of government concerning public money issued, being the immediate officers of the state, it would be more proper to direct the orders of the House to them, but did not deny that the House might, if it should be deemed proper, call the officers of the bank before them.

Mr. *Clements* repeatedly declared, that he did not intend any opposition to the motion—the more frequently his accounts were inspected, the greater would be his satisfaction. He desired the Hon. Baronet would point out his object, that it might not be delayed : On Saturday se'night, to which his last return was made up, the

national bank owed a balance to his office of one hundred and thirty-three thousand odd hundred pounds.

Mr. Secretary *Hamilton* requested the Hon. Baronet to declare to the House the end and intention of his motion, as he thought it might be a matter of more importance than appeared at first sight, and would therefore wish to consider before he voted on the question, whether it was likely to be productive of public benefit, or the reverse.

Mr. Solicitor *Carleton* spoke to the same effect, as did Mr. *George Ponsonby*, who said, he was very sure the Hon. Baronet's motion had some wise tendency; but as, upon the best consideration, he had not been able to discover what that tendency was, and as the Baronet refused to inform him, he would not give the motion an affirmative without some explanation.

Sir *H. Cavendish* said his motion sufficiently expressed his object.

Mr. *Braun* (representative for the College) said, as he was very little acquainted with the rules of parliament, he would be much obliged to any gentleman who would inform him, whether there was any rule or order of the House, to compel a member offering a resolution to the chair, to explain his motives and objects for that resolution?

Mr. *Carleton* said, there was certainly no such rule or order, but while a member thought proper to conceal the intention of a resolution, other members would exercise their right of giving such resolution a negative; though if properly explained, and proved to be beneficial, it might have met with a favourable reception.

Sir *Nicholas Larwley* declared, that without knowing any thing of the Hon. Baronet's intention, he would vote in the affirmative of the resolution; and this he thought himself bound to do, not only as being a subscriber to the bank, and as having induced others to subscribe, but as being convinced that the more the conduct of the bank was scrutinized, the more it would redound to the honour of those who had the direction of it; and as being also convinced that the address of the House, requesting his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to order the deputy vice treasurers, &c. to pay the public balances into the national bank, had been strictly complied with.

After some conversation on this subject, Sir *H. Cavendish*'s resolution passed, and he then produced three other resolutions to the following purport; but said, he did not come as an orator with a set speech to enforce them; he would only for the present read them to the House, and at a more convenient opportunity move them.

1st. That the condition of this kingdom requires that all practicable retrenchments should be made on its establishments, consistent with its welfare and safety.

2d. That no money should be granted this session for the encouragement of any trade or manufacture whatsoever.

3d. That the House should not proceed upon any petition for the encouragement of any private undertaking.

Mr. *Gardiner* called the attention of the House to the deplorable state of our poor manufacturers; their distresses were too great and too visible he said to require any power of words to express; and it was equally visible that they must be relieved; what the means of relief would be, he could not prognosticate, but thought it his duty, and the duty of the House, to give the subject the deepest consideration; and knowing no method more proper than to refer it to a committee, he moved that a committee should be appointed to take into consideration the state of the manufactures of Ireland, the proper means of giving them encouragement, and also to take into consideration the imports and exports of this kingdom.

Sir *Edward Newenham* observed, that it gave him peculiar satisfaction in seeing the Speaker, (Mr. Pery) re-elected to that high station, which he had supported during the two last parliaments with so much honour to himself, and so much advantage to his country.

A severe illness, said he, prevented my attendance before the recess, but I am happy to find that my Right Hon. Colleague has anticipated the motions that I intended to have moved in order to ground a bill for protecting duties, as I am decidedly of opinion that no other measure will restore our manufactures, or support them when restored; I am confident that the zeal, perseverance, and abilities of my colleague, will insure success to his laudable and patriotic endeavours in favour of the distressed and starving manufacturers of Ireland.

He said, that though not perfectly recovered in his health, he came to attend his duty this day, in order to lay before parliament some information of the greatest national importance, and therefore requested the attention of the House for a few moments. His information was contained in a letter from a nobleman of exalted rank and character in France, dated the 2d of October, 1783; an extract of which he read as follows:

“ Notwithstanding your friends have spoken about including
 “ Ireland in the commercial treaty now pending between Great
 “ Britain and the United States of North America, the British
 “ Commissioner has not done it; I am inclined to think, the
 “ question was asked him, and he, (Mr. Hartley) wrote home
 “ for instructions, but none have arrived, therefore you ought
 “ to lose no time in taking proper and speedy measures to have
 “ Ireland included by name, otherwise there may possibly arise
 „ numberless doubts, delays, and misunderstandings, between

“ the two countries, and which may prove equally detrimental to both.—The treaty is now open, and may possibly be soon re-assumed, either here or in England. I am confident, that the American ministers, Mr. Adams, Doctor Franklin, and Mr. Jay, will most cordially agree to include Ireland, and give her every possible equal commercial advantage, but that cannot be done, except Ireland is included in the present, or some other treaty.”

In a letter he received from a gentleman now in Philadelphia, but a member of the first consequence in the state of Virginia, dated the 4th of last September, the following hint is given :

“ Should a commercial treaty between those States and Great Britain take place, I would recommend it to you to have your kingdom specifically mentioned, either in the body of the treaty, or by an additional article, for it seems that your parliament is now the sole regulator of Irish commerce, consequently if your nation is not acknowledged as a contracting party, your ships may be delayed, and your merchants suffer materially by the omission. It is better to settle those matters at first, than leave them liable to future disquisition. I would also advise you to have consuls or agents appointed in these States, as circumstances may frequently require their interposition in the naval, as well as the mercantile line. Suppose a dispute (as two have lately occurred between Captain Gibson of the *Mayflower*, and Captain Traynor of the *Betsy*,) should arise between the owners or captains of any Irish or British ship, and such dispute not be immediately cognizable by the state in whose harbour such ship should happen to be, that nation must suffer, which has not a consul or agent to support its rights, or solicit the protection of the state.”

I have laid this information before the proper judges. I do not intend to embarrass government by tendering any resolutions at present; I only solicit justice for my country, and request that those whose duty it is, will take those matters into immediate consideration. The treaty was open on the 4th of this month; no time, not even one post ought to be lost. The treaty might be signed, and Ireland left out.—If that should happen, this nation will experience greater difficulties than we suffer by the treaty with the perfidious Portuguese. This House will then be forced to take it up in the warmest manner, and send IRISH Commissioners to Paris. For the present, I shall leave it in the hands of those who have both power and abilities to do us justice, and I trust they are desirous of preventing future jealousies.

Mr. *Pelham* said, that though somewhat embarrassed, he could not think of keeping silence upon such an occasion; the Honourable Baronet had read two letters, to which allowing every degree of weight, he was sure it would never be admitted that Ire-

land was excluded from the benefit of every treaty in which she was not mentioned by name; he assured the House that his Majesty's ministers were not inattentive to the interests of Ireland, and would wish to know if it was thought necessary by the House that Ireland should be particularly named, as ministers were resolved to adopt that or any other mode which could give this nation most perfect satisfaction. He was, he said, afraid that the treaty was not so near being concluded as the Honourable Baronet imagined; but assured the House that he would inform his Majesty's ministers that a doubt had arisen that the interests of Ireland would not be attended to, and urge them to demonstrate the contrary, which they were well inclined to do.

Sir *Edward Newenham* declared his perfect satisfaction, and his firm reliance on the declaration of the Right Honourable Secretary.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* said, that an act passed last session of parliament, by which several laws of England, deemed advantageous to this country, had been adopted altogether as laws of Ireland, that by considering the subject, he was led to an opinion, that it would prevent much inconvenience if such laws as Ireland chose to receive, were to be enacted *in terms*: he confessed, indeed, this would be an arduous work, as the whole statute book must be examined and considered, but with the aid and assistance of the House he would attempt it. He therefore moved for a committee to take the subject into consideration.

Mr. *Gardiner* presented a petition from the Governors of the House of Industry, praying aid.

Mr. *Gardiner* moved, that the trustees of the linen manufacture should lay before the House an account of all sums of money disbursed for the promotion and encouragement of that manufacture, from *their institution to the present day*.

Mr. *Foster* moved for leave to bring in a bill to facilitate and promote the intercourse between this kingdom and America.

The *Attorney General* moved for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the Admiralty of Ireland; and for leave to bring in a bill to indemnify all persons advising or enforcing the late embargo.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1783.

The Hon. *John Bourke* presented a petition from the governors of the work-house.

Ordered to lie on the table, and committed for to-morrow.

Several public accounts ordered yesterday were presented, the titles read, and ordered to lie on the table.

A petition was presented from the Right Honourable Henry Flood and Sir Frederick Flood, Bart. complaining of an undue election, through the conduct of Lodge Morres, Esq; High Sheriff of the county of Kilkenny, by which John Egar and John Burke O'Flaherty, Esqrs. have been returned for the borough of Callan.

Ordered to be tried the 4th of December.

The order of the day being read for opening the committee of accounts, the House resolved itself into a grand committee, the Right Hon. John Foster in the chair, but immediately adjourned to the next day, and the House reassumed.

The Right Hon. *Luke Gardiner* moved, that the proper officer lay before the House the quantity and value of all goods, wares, and merchandize imported from Great Britain for the ten years, ending the 25th of March last.

That the proper officer lay before the House an account of all old and new drapery imported during the same period, distinguishing their qualities and prices.

That the proper officer lay before the House an account of all yarn exported from hence to Great Britain during the above period.

That the proper officer lay before the House an account of all woollens exported antecedent to the year 1692.

All which were ordered accordingly.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* moved, that the proper officer lay before the House an account of the pensions on the civil establishment, that have ceased by death or otherwise, from lady-day, 1781, to lady-day, 1783.

That the proper officer lay before the House,

An account of the applications of several sums for the use of the coal-yards in Cork and Dublin.

The sums paid in premiums to fishing vessels.

The particulars of 56,000*l.* issued from the treasury, under the head of general officers.

Ditto of sums, under the head of incidental charges.

Ditto of premiums to vessels with Irish coals brought to Dublin.

Ditto of salaries on the revenue establishment.

Ditto under the head of wine warrants.

Mr. *Toler*, after adverting to the very great inaccuracy of the laws respecting the regulations of police and houses of correction, said he had a motion to make for leave to bring in a bill on that head. He said there was not one house of correction made any use of at present, through the whole kingdom of Ireland. That it fell to his lot to know how useful such institutions must prove, since the act for transportation had failed to have any efficacy, as there

was no punishment introduced in its room. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the act already passed, for enforcing hard labour, and for transportation of delinquents.—Leave granted.

The *Recorder* bore testimony to the very great necessity there was at present for such a law ; but it was also necessary he said to have it passed before Christmas.

The *Provost* moved for leave to bring in a bill to deliver from confinement all persons discharged by proclamation, but detained for their fees.

He said this bill was a copy of one obtained in England, by the most remarkable personage that had appeared in Europe for many centuries, Mr. Howard; this gentleman, with the most benevolent heart, had devoted the earlier part of his life in improving a moderate fortune, by acting as a father to his tenants, encouraging them to industry, in promoting their prosperity, and ultimately his own, in raising up around him what ought to be the pride, and is the strength of every country, a *respectable independent yeomanry*. His success in this undertaking, and his amiable disposition, soon caught the attention of the neighbouring gentlemen, and he was persuaded to accept the office of sheriff for his county ; in this situation he thought it his duty frequently to visit the county jail, and his humanity soon interested him to allay the miseries the wretched prisoners oftentimes unjustly suffer, as far as wisdom, directed by tenderness, could go ; he reformed the jail of his own county, and from that was induced to proceed round all England ; nay he did not confine his benevolent intentions to England only, for there is scarce a dungeon in Europe that he has not inspected, that the unhappy every where may taste of his benevolence. Some time since it was proposed to him that the thanks of parliament should be voted as a reward and approbation of his merit. His reply was, that he was not ambitious of applause—that as to the thanks of parliament, he would not give a rush for them—but if they would let him have something in his own way, if they would allow him to turn his labours to the public advantage, he would receive it as a favour—he then proposed that this bill should be passed, which, at his request, was granted. The *Provost* observed, that some time ago a very humane law had been brought in, to enable grand juries to present for the fees of persons acquitted: but a partial and oppressive use having sometimes been made of it, it by no means answered the purpose of the worthy Baronet who introduced it ; indeed he said it was a point of some difficulty, and an object of moment in a free state to prevent any of its parts from extending beyond its proper bounds, and therefore he thought that power, though wisely and humanely intended, should not have been lodged with grand juries—their office was to spread a shield

to protect their innocent fellow-subjects, or to put offenders on their trial—but it was not their province to say, we will present the fees of this man who has been acquitted by his country, and not of this man, who has been acquitted also. The advantage of law should extend equally to all those who are in the same situation. He said he himself had been for many years a judge of assize, and though he had the happiness to stand well with grand juries, yet they had not unfrequently refused to present the fees of persons acquitted, though recommended by him from the bench.

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* seconded the *Provost*; he said he wished to have made this former law, which had been brought in by him, more extensive, but in those days he could not venture to propose it.—Granted accordingly.

The *Provost* afterwards added, that his idea went in this matter to keep every part of the constitution in its proper state, and to point out the proper line to grand juries so as to hold the even scale of their jurisdiction, without partiality or self-interest.

Mr. *Toler* thought it best to postpone the last bill, or to let it come in as part of the general police bill.

The *Provost* thought it better to let it stand upon its own ground.

Mr. *Toler* said, he had another motion to make, which was of some consequence to the cause of justice. It was in respect to recognizances before magistrates, for prosecution, appearance, &c. a matter very trivial in opinion, and by the flatterer manner in which they were passed over, not a fifteenth part coming into the casual revenue—because such matters came through many hands before they reached the sub-sheriff, and when it came to him, too often made a pretext of revenge and oppression. He moved for leave to bring in a bill for furthering justice, by enforcing the penalty of recognizance before magistrates, &c. and at the commission of oyer and terminer, and other courts of justice.—Leave granted.

The petition of Thomas Tennison against Theophilus Clements, for an undue election for the county of Leitrim; and the petition of William Smyth for the same, for the county of Westmeath, were received and referred; the first to the 29th of November, and the second to the 3d of December.

Mr. *Crofton* proposed a bill to ascertain the qualifications of members serving in parliament, viz. that a knight of the shire should possess 600l. per ann. real estate, clear of all incumbrances; and a citizen or burgess 300l. with exception of the College and city of Dublin.

The *Provost* said, if Dublin was to be excepted, being a trading city, and likely to be represented by a merchant, whose fortune might be personal, Cork ought to have the same exemption.

The *Recorder* rejected the principle of the bill, and denied the practicability of it. If, said he, we were sure that virtue was al-

ways an attendant upon riches, the principle of the bill would be a good one; but unhappily we know the contrary is fact, for those who have most, the men who are wallowing in wealth, are still for having a little more; on the contrary, there are many shining instances of the poorer men maintaining inflexible virtue. We have all heard of Andrew Marvel, who could return the second and the third day to his bone of mutton, and despise the wages of venality. But as to the practicability of this bill, it is notorious that in England, from whence it is copied, qualifications for members to serve in parliament are bought and sold as openly and as frequently as any other commodity.

Sir Edward Newenham.—There is no doubt, but the present bill in England is notoriously evaded; therefore, though the bill now tendered may not be perfect, it is our business to render it effectual; we know the errors of the English bill, and may regulate this bill accordingly; few bills are perfect on their first introduction.

The Clerk now proceeded to read the bill at the table, when some inaccuracies being found, Mr. Crofton withdrew it for the present.

Sir H. Cavendish moved, “that the condition of this country demands that every practicable retrenchment, consistent with the safety thereof, and with the honourable support of his Majesty’s government, should be made in its expences.”

Mr. Mason observed, that as the question was one of a number intended by the Hon. Baronet, he might with strict parliamentary order object to its being brought forward alone, but he rather chose to object to it as being offered at a most improper time, before the national accounts could have been examined. They had indeed been but just read by their titles, and a committee ordered to inspect them, but as that committee had not reported, the House had no information on which to found the resolution: in order therefore to have the question, to whose object he was a friend, fairly investigated, he advised the Hon. Baronet to withdraw it till the House had full information on the subject, otherwise he would move the previous question, whether the Hon. Baronet’s resolution be now put.

Sir Henry Cavendish said, he would offer a very few words, to shew the House that this was the proper time for bringing on his motion. The public accounts he said, had just been received, and taking it for granted they were accurate, they were sufficient ground to found his resolution upon; it was therefore unnecessary to wait for the report of the committee of accounts, for when that would be made, the time for retrenchment would be past.—It was not, he said, necessary for gentlemen to make use of a previous question to get rid of his resolution; they might if they could deny the truth of it, give it a direct negative. But I will, con-

tinued he, tell gentlemen my motives to prevent them from guessing. If ever there was a time when a plan of œconomy was necessary, and might be proposed with a prospect of success, it is the present. When the Duke of Portland was Lord Lieutenant, œconomy was the very soul of his administration; and had it continued, this motion would have been unnecessary. That illustrious nobleman is now at the head of the British ministry, and we have a chief governor high in his confidence, and who will receive every support and assistance from his friendship. Our present Lord Lieutenant has himself, I am confident, every good disposition towards this country; and of the Right Honourable Gentleman, his secretary, I would say much, was he not now present. Besides all these favourable circumstances, we have a new parliament, not bound by continued acts of prodigality to make their present conduct consistent with their past.

From the year 1755, to 1771, the national expence had been increasing, he said, to a most alarming sum; and then he stated severally the growth of each establishment in expence to its present most alarming corrupt influence. The national debt was now little short of two millions, whereas in 1755 there was a credit due to the nation of upwards of 400,000*l.* He understood, he said, that one-third of the House consisted of new members, and he expected from them more virtue, than from those long hackneyed in the ways of prodigality; if they could avoid the little legerdemain of the court, and not fall into that settled system of corruption, which too remarkably distinguished the administration of 1771, when it was remarkable under the influence of a certain junto at the guidance of affairs, to say, “support my job, and I will support yours”—and thus they danced away the public wealth whilst poor Ireland paid the piper. To the honour of Lord Northington he must confess, that he strongly recommended œconomy from the throne, and believed it a sincere recommendation.

Captain *Burgh* remarked, that the Right Honourable Baronet had expatiated much on the state of affairs in 1771, but he had delivered no opinion of the affairs of 1783. The committee of accounts was not to be waited for, nor even the perusal of those papers which the Right Honourable Gentleman himself had called for, which most certainly implied a doubt of the ground he went over; nor was he even willing to make any allowances for the exigencies which caused the raising men for the war, nor any other contingent circumstance which led to the increase of national expence.

Mr. *Monk Mason* argued again, that the motion was premature, and as such moved the previous question.

Sir *Edward Newenham*.—The present British ministry took the royal closet by assault, under pretence of œconomy, and lessen-

ing the undue influence of the crown—they have deceived the people—for here, their substitutes prove the friends of prodigality, and enemies to œconomy; in power, their sentiments and actions are the very reverse of what they were when out of power.—The hypocrisy is too glaring.

Mr. *Browne* of the College, recommended the accounts to the year 1781, to be taken as the foundation of this motion.

Mr. *Flood*.—I find myself little capable of speaking to this question, oppressed with sickness as I am; not in the least degree expecting such a question this night, and more astonished than ever I was in my life, to find the least symptom of opposition rising on the other side of the House. The opposition to it should originate here, for the resolution does not go as far as it ought to do. In Lord Townshend's administration, a resolution was proposed, "that the condition of this country required every practicable retrenchment to be made in its expences;" and the administration of that day thought they had done enough, and allowed themselves latitude sufficient, by amending it with these words—*consistent with the welfare thereof, and the honourable support of his majesty's government*—tho' the resolution so amended, stood then exactly like the present motion. [Here the clerk, at Mr. *Flood's* desire, read the former resolution.] But I think this motion still allows too great an inlet to public profusion. Some men will think of their own welfare, when the welfare of the country is the object, and include their own support within the honourable support of his Majesty's government; I did not, therefore, think any man on the side of administration would have opposed the motion; I rather supposed they would have called out in triumph to let it pass; they would have exulted to see "the new commons, the new country," Ireland, in its emancipated and dignified state, tolerate the nonsense that was current in Lord Townshend's administration.

I am as willing as any man to pay compliment to ministry, both here and in England, to allow them every degree of credit for their honourable intentions; I have not the smallest ground of animosity or resentment to them, and when I hear œconomy recommended from the throne, almost in the words of the Honourable Baronet, I am astonished at an opposition to his motion. Indeed, I believe the words of that recommendation were by some accident misplaced, or that government has not digested the plan of retrenchment; they should not have followed immediately the mention of the Genevan Colony, a body of virtuous men, who to avoid the most ignominious slavery, have sought an asylum in the arms of this country. It was not the proper place to use the words œconomy, it there disgraces the virtuous and generous act of men who have just recovered their own liberty; by placing it there, we may lose a great deal of honour, but can save very little money. But it is not in such little things we are to look for relief—

our retrenchments should reach establishments, and not like England plunge deeper each day in ruin. Ministry both here and in that kingdom, have been often warned of the fatal consequences that must follow, but these warnings have been treated as the visions of *speculative men*.—England, that great and mighty country, now staggers under a load of debt, distressed and dismembered, her expences overwhelm her; and where is the man who will say she shall be redeemed? Where is the man who will say, I will redeem her, and will say how? Though every little minister, or every little man who imagines he is a minister, is ready to undertake the management of her affairs: where is the man who will say that Ireland ought to have a peace establishment of 15,000 men? When the augmentation took place in Lord Townshend's administration, this country was unable to bear it, and since that day we have been involving her deeper and deeper, because we at first engaged her in an undertaking beyond her strength:—when all the world united against Britain, and she was surrounded with enemies on every side, we gave way to the feelings of our hearts and spared her 4000 men, and some time after in the moment *de flagrante bello*, we granted her more than half our remaining troops; if then in time of war the country could subsist without troops, will any man say, that in time of profound peace she ought to support 15,000 men? No, now is the time for reducing your military establishment—let your intention be known this day, that the Right Honourable Secretary may have time to communicate with England: if you neglect the present opportunity, no minister hereafter will have even a pretence for restoring the finances of this country.

I am no partizan either here or in England, I can gain nothing by it; I am ready in either place, like a man, to support ministers while they are right, and whenever they are wrong to oppose them, and resist their measures. At present I hope my honourable friend will allow me to alter his motion, and state a precise idea; I would have it run thus: “Resolved, that the condition of this country requires every practicable retrenchment, &c. and that the military establishment in its present state, affords room for effectual retrenchment.”

I love the army as a body of brave and worthy men, but I would not sacrifice the kingdom to their benefit. Now, Sir, if ministers really mean œconomy, they will agree with this amendment of mine; if not, they will amuse us with words only.

Mr. George Ponsonby—Sir, I can see as plainly as any man the intent of the reflections thrown upon your predecessor in the chair; and I must say, as to the mover of this resolution, that no disapprobation of his gives me any but a pleasurable sensation: and I do at all times feel that supreme contempt for his disapprobation and opinion, which I now take the liberty to declare. Mr.

Ponsonby then entered into a defence of his father's (the late Speaker) conduct—he recited the history of that time—He said that Mr. Flood had exerted himself to support his father's interest against Lord Townshend's attacks; and asked, why, when virtue in the shape of Lord Townshend had overturned interest, the alledged system of profusion had not been overturned also? He declared his firm reliance on the Duke of Portland and his friends, that they intended an effectual and satisfactory reform; and concluded that if the Hon. Baronet thought the circle in which he sat was composed of men grown old in iniquity, it would be but charitable for him to come amongst them, as only from his virtuous contact and indefatigable labours, they could hope to be brought into the road of righteousness.

Mr. *Flood* said, he had not supported Mr. Ponsonby's interest, but he had opposed Lord Townshend's administration: he said this to exculpate Mr. Ponsonby from the charge of ingratitude, for when he had felt the hand of power, Mr. Ponsonby had not supported him; but he never looked at such little things as the interest of particular men or their parties; they appeared great indeed to the men who were engaged in them, but in the eyes of the man who contemplates the public welfare, they vanish into nothing. Had I, said he, been his father's supporter, the Hon. Gentleman but ill requited me, when in his loudest tone, he cried out to have me dismissed, and seemed to reproach ministers with pusillanimity for delaying the sentence. He declared, indeed, that he had no personal dislike to me, but it was only to oblige one or two particular friends; yet the Gentleman boasts of whig principles, whig connexions; whig friends he may justly boast, but such conduct was a manifestation of whig apostacy. God and nature have established this limit to power, it cannot long subsist divested of rectitude. Do we mean to take up the works of retrenchment ourselves, or will we leave it to others to do for us? Will we retrench our own expences, or leave it to others to economize for us? If we proceed upon this business, the people will stand grateful and admiring spectators of our progress, if not, they may perhaps take it up themselves; let us then act honestly, let us tell Great-Britain what no man can deny, that the military is the place to make retrenchment. I will suppose ministers as good as any man can wish, but 'tis our duty to give them opportunity of exercising their honest intentions.

Mr. *George Ponsonby* utterly denied his ever calling for the dismissal of the Hon. Gentleman; he repeated his words, which, he said, could not bear that interpretation.

The *Speaker* earnestly exhorted gentlemen to avoid any personality, and informed them, that it was against the order of the House to mention any thing which had been spoken in a former debate.

Mr. *Scott* greatly approved the interference of the chair, and declared, that it had prevented his rising to the same purpose.

Mr. *Bushe* said, the resolution required time to consider it; it involved much matter: he recollected, indeed, our sending 4000 men to die in the West Indies, at a time when we dared not send a shroud to bury them in. Why, continued he, do we appoint a committee of accounts, if we do their business before they meet?

Mr. *Pelham*—I do not hesitate to declare, that I am an enemy to previous questions whenever they can be avoided. I think they should not be proposed.—I would almost at any time, rather meet a motion in the first instance, than get rid of it in this way; and if ever there was a question that I was ready and desirous to enter upon immediately, it is the present, for I concur in the intention of it;—besides I feel myself so flattered and encouraged by the manner in which the Hon. Gentleman has spoken of the ministry here, and in England, whom he has promised to support, if their views and pursuits be such as he approves; that nothing but the necessary forms of, prevents my now concurring in the motion, as proposed by the Honourable Baronet. But no injury can possibly result from our possessing all possible information, and in this kingdom you have an advantage, which they have not in England, that of seeing the accounts of the two last years, by which you are with certainty directed in your future provisions. Now, Sir, if the Honourable Baronet will make his motion, an instruction to the committee of accounts, I have no objection to it; on the contrary, I would wish to be considered as a friend to its views and principles;—but I think it would be very unbecoming to make any declaration, till the Honourable Gentlemen who have managed public finances at the different boards for two years past, shall have produced and explained their accounts; and from their known diligence and great abilities, I have the highest expectation of assistance in making all possible retrenchment.

The *Prime-Serjeant* (Mr. *Kelly*) declared his dislike to the previous question, and that at a proper time, he would support the motion of the Honourable Baronet, but for the present, he thought the best way to get rid of it by an amendment, “That the committee of accounts not having yet made their report, the motion was premature.”

Mr. *Mason* could not conceive how a gentleman should so much dislike the previous question, and yet be ready to substitute a paraphrase on the previous question. He said he was as much a friend to the spirit of the resolution as any man, and pledged himself, that at a proper time he would support it, but at this time, he said, it could not be entered on without a manifest breach of parliamentary order;—for there was a standing rule, that no supply could be granted till after the committee of accounts had made their report.

Mr. Grattan.—I shall not trouble you long, nor take up the time of the House, by apologizing for bodily infirmity, or the affectation of infirmity.—I shall not speak of myself, or enter into a defence of my character, having never apostatized.—I think it is not necessary for the House now to investigate what we know to be fact. I think it would be better to go into the business, as the House did upon another occasion, without waiting the formality of the committee's report.—As to myself, the honourable reward that a grateful nation has bestowed upon me, for ever binds me to make every return in my power, and particularly to oppose every unnecessary expence. I am far from thinking with the Honourable Gentleman, as to the speech, and I believe he will find instances where œconomy has been recommended from the throne, but prodigality practised. This was the case in Lord Harcourt's administration. An administration which had the support of the Hon. Gentleman, and therefore he, of all men, cannot be at a loss to reject that illusory œconomy, which has so often appeared in the speeches of Lord Lieutenants. With respect to the Genevese, I never could have thought it possible to give the speech such a bias as has been mentioned, and that people will be deceived, if they give credit to any declamation that infers from the words of the speech, any thing but an honest œconomy in applying the public money fairly to their use. The nation has derived great honour from this transaction, and I would be sorry to have it tarnished by inference and insinuation.

In 1771, when the burdens of the country were comparatively small, I made a motion similar to this; the Hon. Gentleman then opposed me. I have his sanction, now, that I was right, and he was wrong; and I say this, that though gentlemen may for a while vote against retrenchments, they will at last see the necessity of them. Yet while I think retrenchment absolutely necessary, I am not very sure that this is just the time to make it in the army,—now when England has acted justly, I will not say generously,—now when she has lost her empire—when she still feels the wounds of the last unhappy war, and comforts herself only with the faithful friendship of Ireland. If in 1769, when the liberties of Ireland were denied, and those of America in danger, it was thought unadvisable to retrench our army, there can be no such reason to reduce it now, when both are acknowledged and confirmed. When we voted 4000 men to butcher our brethren in America, the Hon. Gentleman should have opposed that vote; but perhaps he will be able to explain the propriety of sending 4000 Irish men thither. But why not look for retrenchment in the revenue and other departments. In my mind, the proper mode would be, to form a fair estimate of what would be a reasonable peace establishment, and reduce our several departments to it.

Mr. Flood.—The Right Honourable Member can have no doubt of the propriety of my saying a word in reply to what he has de-

livered; every member in the House can bear witness of the infirmity I mentioned, and therefore, it required but little candour to make a nocturnal attack upon that infirmity; but I am not afraid of the Right Honourable Member, I will meet him any where, or upon any ground, by night or by day.—I would stand poorly in my own estimation, and in my country's opinion, if I did not stand far above him.—I do not come here dressed in a rich wardrobe of words to delude the people—I am not one who has promised repeatedly to bring in a bill of rights, yet does not bring in that bill or permit any other person to do it—I am not one who threatened to impeach the Chief Justice of the King's Bench for acting under an English law, and afterwards shrunk from that business—I am not the author of the simple repeal—I am not one who, after saying the parliament was a parliament of prostitutes, endeavoured to make their voices subservient to my interest—I am not one who would come at midnight, and attempt by a vote of this House to stifle the voice of the people, which my egregious folly had raised against me—I am not the gentleman who subsists upon your accounts—I am not the mendicant patriot who was bought by my country for a sum of money, and then sold my country for prompt payment—I am not the man who in this House loudly complained of an infringement made by England, in including Ireland in a bill, and then sent a certificate to Dungannon that Ireland was not included—I never was bought by the people, nor ever sold them; the gentleman says, he never apostatized, but I say I never changed my principles; let every man say the same, and let the people believe them if they can. But if it be so bad a thing to take an office in the state, how comes the gentleman connected with persons in office? They, I hope, are men of virtue, or how came the gentleman so closely connected with Colonel Fitzpatrick: I object to no man for being in office; a patriot in office is the more a patriot for being there. There was a time when the glories of the great Duke of Marlborough shrunk and withered before those of the Right Honourable Gentleman; when palaces superior to Blenheim were to be built for his reception, when pyramids and pillars were to be raised, and adorned with emblems and inscriptions sacred to his virtue; but the pillars and pyramids are now sunk, though then the great Earl of Chatham was held inferior to him; however, he is still so great, that the queen of France, I dare say, will have a song made on the name of Grattan.

Lord Harcourt practised economy—but what was the economy of the Duke of Portland?—100,000*l.* was voted to raise 20,000 seamen, tho' it was well known that one-third of that number could not be raised—and what was the application of the money? It was applied to the raising of the execrated fencibles.

It is said I supported Lord Harcourt's administration; it is true, but I never deserted my principles, but carried them into the cabinet with me. A gentleman, who now hears me, knows that I proposed to the privy council an Irish mutiny bill, and that not with a view of any parliamentary grant. I supported an absentee tax; and while I was in office, registered my principles in the books of government; and the moment I could not influence government to the advantage of the nation, I ceased to act with them. I acted for myself—I was the first who ever told them that an Irish mutiny bill must be granted. If this country is now satisfied, is it owing to that gentleman? No, the simple repeal, disapproved and scouted by all the lawyers in England and in Ireland, shews the contrary; and the only apology he can make is, that he is no lawyer at all. A man of warm imagination and brilliant fancy will sometimes be dazzled with his own ideas, and may for a moment fall into error; but a man of sound head could not make so egregious a mistake, and a man of an honest heart would not persist in it after it was discovered. I have now done—and give me leave to say, if the gentleman enters often into this kind of colloquy with me, he will not have much to boast of at the end of the session.

Mr. *Grattan*.—In respect to the House, I could wish to avoid personality, and return to the question, but I must request liberty to explain some circumstances alluded to by the Hon. Member; the Hon. Member has alluded to St. Christopher's bill, I will declare the fact—he may tell a story—when I received a copy of that bill, it gave me much pain and much offence; I thought I saw the old intention of binding Ireland by English laws; I therefore spoke to that effect in this house, I also shewed the bill to all the most able and virtuous men in this kingdom, who were of opinion that my suggestion was wrong, under this opinion I acquiesced, and the opinion has justified it: as to my coming at midnight to obtain a vote, imposing silence on the people, I deny it; it was mistated in the papers, my resolution was to declare this country free, and that any person who should speak or write to the contrary, was a public enemy. All the House, all the revered and respected characters in the kingdom heard me, and know what I say is true. But it is not the slander of the bad tongue of a bad character that can defame me, I maintain my reputation in public and in private life; no man who has not a bad character can say I ever deceived him, no country has ever called me cheat. I will suppose a public character, a man not now in this House, but who formerly might have been here.—I will suppose it was his constant practice to abuse every man who differed from him, and to betray every man who trusted him; I will suppose him active, I will begin from his cradle, and divide his life into three stages,

in the first he was intemperate, in the second corrupt, and in the third seditious.

Suppose him a great egotist, his honour equal to his oath, and I will stop him and say, Sir, your talents are not so great as your life is infamous; you were silent for years, and you were silent for money: when affairs of consequence to the nation were debating, you might be seen passing by these doors like a guilty spirit, just waiting for the moment of putting the question, that you might hop in and give your venal vote; or, at times, with a vulgar brogue, apeing the manner, and affecting the infirmities of Lord Chatham; or like a kettle-drummer, lather yourself into popularity to catch the vulgar, or you might be seen hovering over the dome like an ill-omen'd bird of night with sepulchral notes, a cadaverous aspect, and broken beak, ready to stoop and pounce upon your prey—you can be trusted by no man—the people cannot trust you—the ministers cannot trust you—you deal out the most impartial treachery to both—you tell the nation it is ruined by other men, while it is sold by you—you fled from the embargo, you fled from the mutiny bill—you fled from the sugar bill—I therefore tell you in the face of your country, before all the world, and to your beard—you are not an honest man.

Mr. Flood.—I have heard a very extraordinary harangue indeed, and I challenge any man to say, that any thing half so unwarrantable, was ever uttered in this House. The Right Honourable Gentleman set out with declaring, he did not wish to use personality, and no sooner has he opened his mouth, than forth issues all the venom that ingenuity and disappointed vanity, for two years brooding over corruption, has produced—but it cannot taint my public character; four and twenty years employed in your service, has established that; and as to my private, let that be learned from my tenants, from my friends, from those under my own roof—to those I appeal, and this appeal I boldly make, with utter contempt of insinuations, false as they are illiberal. The whole force of what has been said, rests upon this, that I once accepted office, and this is called apostacy;—but is a man the less a patriot, for being an honest servant of the crown. As to me, I took as great a part with the first office of the state at my back, as ever the Right Honourable Gentleman did with mendicancy behind him.

Mr. Flood proceeded to defend his character, when, at a pause, the Speaker took the opportunity to interfere, and with the utmost politeness, and in the kindest manner, entreated him to forbear, declaring that he had suffered inexpressible pain during this contest, and that nothing but the calls of the House to hear the two members, could have made him so long sit silent. He again besought Mr. Flood to sit down, and the House joining with the

Chair, that gentleman, after sundry efforts to speak, was obliged to desist, and soon after retired.

Shortly after, Sir *Frederick Flood*, who had gone at the request of the House to bring back his kinsman (Mr. *Henry Flood*, who had withdrawn himself) returned and informed the House he could not find him, though he had been at his own house, and some other places where he hoped to have met him.

The House then resumed the business of Sir *Henry Cavendish's* motion, when Mr. *Monk Mason* assured the Right Honourable Baronet, that if he would defer the motion for the present, he would assist him in bringing it forward immediately after the committee of accounts should make their report.

The *Recorder* said, he thought the Right Honourable Member would do right by postponing it 'till the House might receive information from the report of the committee of accounts.

Captain *Burgh* likewise requested it might be deferred till the committee reported; he said the documents would then be more correct, as some slight mistakes may have happened in the printing them, which had been hurried on and done in two days time.

The *Provost* likewise urged the deferring it 'till the committee of accounts made their reports. He said he had conversed with many old members that had been in parliament before committees of accounts had been established, who had much lamented the wants of them, as the vouchers of all kinds of king's letters, &c. were now laid before them in a much clearer manner than they formerly were.

Mr. *Parsons* wished the gentlemen on the opposite side of the House (Treasury Bench) would suffer the question to be put at once, and let it go abroad to the world that it met with a negative from them, if that should be its fate.

After a few words by Mr. *Mason*, the question of adjournment was called for, when the *Speaker* arose to comply with the request, but was stopped by the Right Honourable Mr. *Pelham*, who said, he must oppose it, upon which a division ensued, when there appeared

Against the adjournment, — — — 84

For it, — — — 27

Tellers for the Noes, Captain *Burgh*, Mr. *Mason*.

Tellers for the Ayes, Sir *Henry Cavendish*, and Sir *Henry Hartstonge*.

After the division, Sir *Henry Cavendish* moved an amendment to his former motion, which was opposed by the *Provost* as out of rule, and contrary to the usage of parliament; it was likewise opposed by Mr. *Fitzgibbon*, who also proposed an amendment to the amendment.

Mr. *Beresford*, jun. also spoke against it, and told the Right Honourable Baronet, he wondered the House would attend to his foolish amendments, &c. (which set the House in a great fit of laughter) after which the amendment was put and negatived without a division.

At a eleven o'clock the question of adjournment was agreed to, when Mr. *Foster* called the attention of the House, by informing the *Speaker* that he thought it would be proper for the preservation of the peace, and to prevent any mischief that might ensue from the unhappy difference that arose between two members of that House, as also for the dignity of the House, that a mode should be struck out for taking them into custody, either by the Serjeant at Arms, the Sheriffs of the city, or some other persons appointed for that purpose; which being settled, (after the *Provoost*, Mr. *Bennet*, Mr. *Gardiner*, the *Recorder*, and some other members had spoke to the business) the *Speaker*, attended by several members, most patiently waited a full hour, when General *Luttrell* informed the *Speaker*, a magistrate (Alderman *Exshaw*) who had taken one of the members, (Mr. *Flood*) into custody, was then at the bar, and requested he would lay his commands on him to have the said Member forth coming in the morning, and to use his best endeavours for taking the other into custody. The *Recorder* likewise, by consent of the House, issued a warrant for that purpose, after which the House adjourned until to-morrow.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1783.

A letter was read by order, by the Clerk of the House from the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, to the Right Honourable the *Speaker*, acquainting him, that in consequence of information, he had granted a warrant against Mr. *Grattan* and Mr. *Flood*, to take them into custody, directed to the sheriffs, &c. of the kingdom; but from the respect his lordship entertained for that House, he had avoided issuing the same for execution till he had received the sentiments of the House on that subject.

The *Speaker* at the same time observed, that he did not think it necessary, nor did he wish it should be entered on the journals, but if the matter was left to him, he would take the most necessary steps that could be properly adopted on the occasion.

The Honourable *John Bourke* made several motions, that the proper officers should lay before the House, accounts of the premiums paid upon corn, grain, &c. brought into this city coastways, by inland carriage, and imported, which were agreed to.

Ordered, that the *Speaker* do direct his warrant to the clerk of the crown, to issue a new writ for the election of a member for the borough of *Lanesborough*.

Right Honourable *John Foster* then arose, and said he wished to bring forward a matter of the utmost consequence to Ireland; it was well known that the kingdom of Portugal had unjustly laid restrictions upon our trade: it was, therefore, high time that this country should take her conduct into consideration; and it would become us on this occasion to act with prudence and with spirit. With spirit, because if Portugal still refused to give Ireland those commercial advantages, which, in justice, we had a right to (as the products of that country imported hither could be amply supplied to us from other places) he would be one who would tax the commodities which came from thence, in such a manner, as would amount to a prohibition. On the other hand, if she agreed to take our manufactures, prudence should dictate to us to give every encouragement to her trade; he thought, therefore, the best mode of investigating this matter, would be by a committee, and therefore moved, that a committee be appointed to take into consideration the trade of this kingdom with Portugal.

Mr. Gardiner—I rise, Sir, to second the motion of my Right Hon. Friend, and to suggest some things of which I have received information. I hear, Sir, the conduct of the court of Spain towards this country, has been very different from that of the court of Portugal; formerly Spain laid very heavy duties upon Irish linen, much higher than were imposed on either the French or German; but of late, Sir, I am told, (I really do not know whether my information be just or not) they have very much diminished that duty, so as even to put us on an equality with the Germans and the French, and that they have established manufactories for printing and staining linens, which they send over to their colonies; for this purpose they have purchased from the English merchants within this short time, no less than 18000 pieces of Irish linen. Now, Sir, if this be the case, see what the consequence is—the English merchant acts as our factor; he has one profit: we have another: whereas if a direct intercourse was opened between Spain and us, we should be in possession of both the profits. There is another matter which would render our direct trade to Spain, of infinite importance to this country, and that is with respect to our woollen manufacture. All cloths made here, from thirteen to seventeen shillings per yard, are composed of a mixture of Irish and Spanish wool; and all cloths from seventeen shillings per yard and upwards, consist wholly of Spanish wool—this wool we have hitherto been obliged to get from England; and that is a principal cause why we have not been able to equal her in this branch of trade; for in this, too, the English merchant acts as a factor: and while Spain gets one profit, the factor gets another; so that in England they pay but the first price, and consequently have the Spanish wool infinitely cheaper. There is also the article of dye-stuff, of

which we import a considerable quantity from Spain, through the like medium of the English factor, and for which, therefore, we pay a double price; if then the information I have received is true, it must be apparent what advantages will accrue to us from a trade with Spain;—they would take our linens at an advanced price, from that which we are at present paid for them, and we should have in return all necessary articles from thence, at a much lower rate, than we are now able to procure them—if, therefore, the conduct of Portugal should make us lay prohibitory duties on the products of that country, and if we can receive so many material benefits from a commerce with Spain, I think it would be wise in us to lessen the duties on Spanish wines: I wish, therefore, the Right Hon. Gentleman would add the words, “and Spain,” to his present motion. I thought to have taken up something of this kind in the committee of trade now sitting, but I fear we have so much business already upon our hands, that to enlarge it would be impracticable.

Mr. *Toler* hoped the Right Honourable Gentleman who had just spoken, would not insist upon having Spain included in the present motion; he considered the business that was to come before the committee moved for, of much greater magnitude than merely matters of trade—it would be to investigate the nature of treaties, and he should be sorry to see a subject of such importance frittered away—it would be to consider how far Ireland was included in all treaties hitherto made by Great Britain, and to be deemed a contracting party: Ireland had a right to trade with Portugal by the law of nations; it was a right founded in justice, and which she would not give up; it was therefore an affair of the greatest consequence to Ireland, and particularly at the present crisis, when a new treaty was to be ratified; from the result of this committee, would be known what steps ought to be taken in future. Perhaps an address to his majesty might be deemed requisite, and therefore he hoped, when this committee sat, the Right Honourable Member who moved this motion, would not confine his enquiries to affairs of trade alone, but would enter minutely into the discussion of the true extent of all treaties between Great Britain and foreign states.

Mr. *Foster* wished his motion to be carried in the manner he had made it. He confessed Mr. *Gardiner's* information as to Spain, was perfectly well founded; but chose first to enter upon the consideration of the transactions relative to Portugal, as from such consideration it could best be discovered how we ought to act relative to other powers; and when the committee sat, his Honourable Friend (Mr. *Toler*) might certainly introduce whatever he thought would be proper.

Mr. *Gardiner* replied, if gentlemen had any objection to adding Spain to the motion, he would not urge it.

Mr. *Corry* rose, and said, he thought it would be highly proper for the committee to be acquainted with what steps had been taken by the British ministers, or how far they had interfered with the court of Portugal on our behalf. He had the greatest reliance on the good intentions of his Majesty's present ministers in England towards this country; he had the best opinion of the Irish minister, from the ready and liberal attention he had the other evening paid to the information given him by a worthy Knight (Sir E. Newenham) who had always the best authority for what he communicated to that House; but it was unfortunate for this country, on the eve of establishing a great woollen manufacture, with the best inclination of the English minister, the interests of the English nation militated against our success, it would therefore be right to have every information relative to what passed between the courts of Great Britain and Portugal, respecting the trade of Ireland, laid before this committee, otherwise England might suffer us to get into a dispute, while she would be a gainer by the quarrel; he hoped, therefore, a Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pelham) would be prepared to declare every thing which had passed between the two kingdoms upon the subject.

Mr. Secretary *Pelham* said, every necessary information should be readily communicated, and for this purpose, all papers sought by the committee should immediately be produced—but stationed as he was, he could not sit silent and hear an insinuation of an Hon. Member, that it is the interest of his Majesty's English ministers to oppose the prosperity and growth of the Irish woollen manufacture.

Mr. *Corry* rose to explain—he did not say it was the *interest of his Majesty's ministers*; so far from it, he had expressed the highest confidence of their virtues and good intentions towards this kingdom; what he said was, that it unfortunately happened, while this kingdom was on the eve of establishing a great woollen trade, it was the *interest of the English nation* to suffer us to get into a dispute, where she might leave us to ourselves, and benefit by the quarrel.

Mr. *Pelham* thanked the gentleman for setting him right, but either way he understood the Hon. Member in the same light; for his part, he avowed that he was in the secrets of the British ministers, and being in their secrets, though an Englishman himself, he could not come over to this country to second what he was well satisfied was their intention, if he suffered any thing that was said either within doors or without, to sway with him, or to make him consider, in the smallest degree, the interests of this kingdom and Great Britain otherwise than as united.

Mr. *Longfield* (who had opened the journals) ordered the Clerk to read his Majesty's answer to that House, upon the address presented last sessions relative to the Portugal business—it was read according, and contained the most affectionate terms, highly applauding the wisdom and prudence of the Irish parliament, and assuring his faithful Commons, that he would give his ministers, directly, instructions to interfere.

Mr. *Longfield* thought that another address ought now to be presented, in order to know what the result of that interference was.

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* could not but admire the zeal of gentlemen for the good of their country, which was thus obstructing the measures of others, who had no zeal at all (here a loud laugh). He begged pardon, he meant no difference of sentiment, though the same zeal made a difference of opinion; he was sure if the committee was let to sit, every thing would turn out satisfactory to the general wish.

Mr. *Toler* now rose, but the Speaker acquainted him, as he had already delivered his opinion on the question, unless he arose to explain, he could not suffer him to proceed; the order of the House had been grossly infringed the night before, he was sure it must be in the recollection of every gentleman present, and he was determined strictly to adhere to the rules of parliament in future. Mr. *Toler* immediately acquiesced.

The *Attorney General* said, that last sessions a motion for a committee, similar to that at present made, had been moved and refused, because at that time an address was thought proper. Negotiation, it was hoped, would have had a due effect, and therefore it was deemed necessary to try it; that negotiation has taken place, and we are to suppose it has been unsuccessful, otherwise the result of it would have been announced in his Excellency's speech from the throne. The speech being silent upon that head, negotiation must now be considered as at an end. Ireland ought now therefore to step forward with becoming spirit. He hoped that there would be no objection to going into a committee, and if afterwards gentlemen should think an address necessary, it might be adopted.

The motion was then agreed to, and a committee appointed.

Mr. *Foster* moved a variety of resolutions, that the proper officers should lay before the House an account of all articles of the growth, produce, and manufactures of Portugal imported into this kingdom for ten years, to the 25th of March, 1783, distinguishing the quality and value of each article.—Agreed to.

General *Cunningham*, in the warmest terms, extolled the conduct of Sir *Eyre Coote*, K. B. who, he said, was a native of this country; his behaviour had procured him the thanks of

both Lords and Commons in England, and an omission on our part might look like a neglect: he therefore moved the thanks of the House to Sir Eyre Coote; which passed *nem. con.*

Sir *Edward Newenham* said, he had only that moment entered the House, therefore was not prepared to note the deficiency that appeared; that, after having thanked the General, he was surprised no thanks were moved to be given to one of the bravest admirals that ever fought under the British flag, but he would (though not a naval officer, or even acquainted with Sir Edward Hughes) move on to-morrow, a just tribute of thanks to transcendent merit.

Sir *Edward* then moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better advancement of justice, by ascertaining the qualifications necessary for persons taking commissions of the peace for counties at large.—Leave was granted accordingly.

Mr. *Crofton* reported a bill for ascertaining the qualifications of members to sit in parliament, which was read, and ordered to be read again on this day se'nnight.—Ordered to be printed.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* observing that the orders of one parliament were not binding on another, moved that all orders be revived.

Mr. *Foster* thought this too general; some orders would be improper: there was one, that no motion should be made after three o'clock in the day; he imagined therefore that a committee should be appointed to see what orders were necessary to be revived; at least, he hoped the gentleman would not make his motion 'till to-morrow.

Sir *Henry* agreed to wait 'till then, but could not desist 'till a committee should make a report; because while that committee was sitting, the consequence would be, the House would be without any orders.—Adjourned 'till to-morrow.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1783.

Mr. *Burke* presented a petition of the commissioners for promoting and carrying on the inland navigation in Ireland, praying a renewal of the tillage duties for the term of twenty-one years, with such further aid as to the wisdom of the House shall seem meet, for enabling the petitioners effectually to complete the great national works now in execution.

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Ordered, that said petition be referred to the consideration of a committee.

Mr. *Cusse* presented a petition from Richard Gore, Esq; praying leave to bring in a bill for settling the will of the late Earl of Arran, and for payment of debts.—Referred to a committee.

Right Hon. *John Foster* presented the petition of David Bosquet, praying for aid in the copper manufacture, and of his flatting and rolling mills.—Also, a petition from John and Henry Allen, woollen-manufacturers, praying aid to establish a manufactory in the county Wicklow.—Referred to a committee.

Mr. *Hartley* presented a petition from the minister, churchwardens, &c. of St. Nicholas without, praying aid for rebuilding said church.

Mr. *Clements* presented the accounts between the national bank and the treasury, as ordered on a former day.

Mr. *Smith* presented fundry accounts of corn carriage by land and the canal, with bounties paid on the same.—Ordered to lie on the table.

Sir Edward *Newenham* expressed the satisfaction it gave him to move a resolution in favour of as brave, and as worthy an officer, as ever fought; he heard of Sir Edward Hughes's eminent and distinguished conduct, from one who fought against him, and who acknowledged, that it was owing to his abilities, courage, and perseverance, that the British fleet was so successful on the 17th of February; that, when an enemy praises his opponent, there cannot be a stronger proof of his virtues.—

Sir *Edward* then moved, and was seconded by Mr. Griffith,

“That the thanks of this House be given to Sir Edward Hughes, Knight of the most Hon. Order of the Bath, for the important services performed by the squadron under his command, in the East Indies, on the 17th of February, and the 12th of April, 1782.”

“That the thanks of this House be given to Commodore Richard King, the captains and officers, and seamen, for the important services performed by the squadron under the command of Sir Edward Hughes, in the East Indies, on the 17th of February and 12th of April, 1782; and that Sir Edward Hughes do signify the same to them.”

“That the Speaker do transmit a copy of the same to Sir Edward Hughes.”—

Agreed to *nem. con.*

Mr. *Griffith*, after apologizing for his own diffidence, and lamenting that some member of greater ability had not done it, moved the thanks of the House to Sir Robert Curtis, for

his gallant behaviour during the siege of Gibraltar, and for his great humanity and uncommon abilities exercised in saving the lives of the officers and soldiers belonging to the enemy.

Agreed to *nem. con.* and the Speaker to communicate the said thanks, &c.

Mr. St. George presented the barrack accounts, as ordered on a former day.—Referred to the committee of accounts.

Lord Charles Fitzgerald presented a petition from the undertakers of the Grand Canal, praying the loan of 50,000*l.* to complete the navigation from the harbour of Dublin, to the river Barrow; the principal allegations in which petition were, that they have expended their whole capital of 100,000*l.* That they have perfected a navigation for 27 miles from the city of Dublin. That the work is incomplete until its communication with the rivers Barrow and Shannon be opened. That the carriage of goods on the line is amazingly reduced; that is, to two-pence an Irish mile per ton on all goods, except lime, lime-stone, turf, building-stones, bricks, paving-stones, gravel, soil, dung and manure for lands, which are only a half-penny a mile per ton. That the manufacturers of Dublin, who consume Kilkenny coals, will immediately save fifteen thousand pounds per annum, in the difference between 2*l.* 10*s.* and 18*s.* 4*d.* per ton. That when the communication is opened between Dublin and Lough Allen, the nation will save in the article of coals 239,000*l.* per annum. That when they procure the loan of 50,000*l.* it will enable them on their own bottom to complete the work, and repay the loan.

Sir Henry Cavendish moved that all orders for regulating and keeping due order in the House be revived.

Mr. Foster said, Notwithstanding he sincerely and heartily wished that proper order and due decorum should be strictly observed in the House, he must oppose the Right Hon. Member's motion as it then stood; for, by including all orders, great confusion would arise; as many of the orders which had been made, could not be closely adhered to, without retarding the business of the House, and appearing directly contrary to many now in use, and established by custom.

Mr. Monk Mason said a few words in opposition to the motion, and placed it in so ludicrous a light as to set the House in laughter.

The *Provoost* arose, and, amongst other reasons, assigned the following against the motion. He said, that if all orders were to be included, there was one which ordered the doors of the gallery to be locked each day, and the keys laid upon the table, before the House proceeded to any business; which order he

was very sure the Right Hon. Member would not wish the House to observe. Another order was, that if any person was to be examined before the House, he should first be sworn at the bar of the House of Lords. Another order said, that if any man assaulted or insulted a member going to or from the House, he should be instantly committed; though another order of the House said, that in all cases a man had a right to be heard in his own vindication. These were matters, he thought, would be found difficult to reconcile, if the orders were all moved together, and not separated, so that the necessary ones only might be revived.

Mr. *Foster* moved an amendment, which was, that the orders of the House should be specifically examined before a committee, and the necessary ones only be revived. After some little conversation, Sir Henry Cavendish withdrew his motion.

Mr. *Foster* moved for a committee to inspect and revive such orders of the House as may appear necessary.

Mr. *Louther* moved for a committee to enquire into the state of the coal trade.—Adjourned 'till to-morrow.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1783.

Committee of accounts, Mr. *Mason* in the chair.

Mr. *Foster* moved, that the proper officers should return an account of the particulars of 44,072*l.* which was returned as the arrear of hearth money to Lady Day, 1783.—Also the particulars of 32,402*l.* being the arrears of quit rents.—Also the sum of 69,135*l.* 1*s.* being the deficiency of the various collections.—Also an account of what steps had been taken against the dismissed collectors, for their several arrears.

Mr. *Gardiner* moved, that an account be given of the amount of stamp paper, delivered to the different officers of the customs, since the first establishment of the Stamp Office, specifying the manner in which the public have been reimbursed for said stamps.

Sir Henry Cavendish moved, that the proper officers should return the amount of the civil list for two years preceding the years 1775, 71, and 83, distinguishing each period.—Also the amount of the military contingencies for the same years.—Also the balances remaining in the Treasury on Lady Day, 1775, 71, and 83, distinguishing each year.

Mr. *Foster* moved, for an account of the storage provided for the last eight years, specifying the charges under which they have been debited.

Mr. *Stewart* presented a petition of Cornelius Marshall, of Caledon, in the county of Tyrone, cotton and linen manufacturer, praying aid to promote and extend the cotton manufacture; which was read, and referred to the consideration of a committee.

Several members took the oaths, made and subscribed the declaration, and took and subscribed the oath of abjuration, according to the laws made for those purposes.

General *Luttrel* presented a petition of Thomas Reilly, of the city of Dublin, iron merchant, praying aid to bring the manufacturing and tilting of steel, and other great branches of iron works, to perfection in this country; which was read, and referred to the consideration of a committee.

Mr. *D. Brown* acquainted the House, that he had reason to think, from the information he had received, that part of the 100,000*l.* granted for raising seamen for the service of the British navy, had been misapplied, and employed to raise fencibles, to a very considerable amount; he therefore moved, that the proper officer be ordered to lay before the House an account of the precise day his Majesty's orders were issued for stopping the recruiting service in this kingdom; and the motion was seconded.

At the instant General *Luttrel* arose to second it also. He congratulated the Hon. Member on having mentioned the business; he said if his information should prove true, it would be the business of the House, and was the wish of his heart to have it speedily and strictly investigated. Ordered accordingly.

The proper officer laid before the House an account of the quantity of flour brought to Dublin from Lady Day, 1781, to Lady Day, 1783.

Mr. *Smith* moved that leave be given unto Andrew Ram Stephen Ram, and Abel Ram, Esqrs. for three days to attend an election.—Granted.

Mr. *G. Molyneux* moved that the proper officer do lay before the House an account of the number of forces in this kingdom, when the 5000 troops were sent to Great Britain.—Ordered accordingly.

Mr. *Bennet* presented a petition from Edward Kirwan, and Richard Martin, Esqrs. complaining of an undue election and return of the Right Hon. Denis Daly, and William Power Keating Trench, Esq; for the county of Galway.—Ordered to be taken into consideration the 29th of November.

Mr. *David Latouche*, acquainted the House that a severe illness kept him at home, the day that the business relative to the National Bank was brought forward by a Right Hon. Baronet. He assured the House, that since the bank opened, which was on the 24th of June last, great advantage was reaped therefrom, particularly by the traders in linen, who had been advanced large sums at 5l. per cent. That the business of the bank was conducted in the most clear and regular manner, and that he thought great benefit would arise to the nation, if the several sums of money which remained in the hands of lawyers, were ordered to be paid into the bank; for which purpose he shortly intended to bring a bill into the House.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* assured the Hon. Member, when he moved for the inquiry, he did not mean to throw the least obloquy on the governors or directors, for whose characters he had the highest respect.

Mr. *Latouche* observed, such enquiries generally carried to the world an imputation or suspicion.

Read an account of the various sums distributed by the trustees of the Linen Manufacture from their first institution.

The Hon. *John Bourke* reported from the committee, appointed to enquire into the state of the Foundling Hospital and Work House, the resolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, where the same were read.

Ordered, that the said report do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Mr. *Bourke* also reported from the committee, appointed to examine the matter and petition of the commissioners of Inland Navigation, the resolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, where the same were read.

Ordered, that the said report do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

The Right Hon. Mr. Secretary *Pelham* informed the House, that he was commanded by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to acquaint them that his Majesty had been pleased to return a most gracious answer to the address of this House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table; and the same was read by Mr. Speaker (all the members being uncovered) and is as followeth:

“ G E O R G E R.

“ His Majesty returns his hearty thanks to the House of Commons for their dutiful and loyal address, and for their congratulations on the increase of his family, and the restoration of the blessings of peace.

" His Majesty receives with the greatest satisfaction the declaration of his faithful Commons, that, duly sensible of the sincerity and good faith manifested by Great Britain in the sacred regard shewn on her part to the late adjustment of the constitution and commerce of Ireland, they will earnestly concur in every measure that may confirm and strengthen the mutual confidence of both kingdoms, and that union in sentiment, as well as interest, which is so essentially necessary to the strength, honour, and prosperity of the empire."

" G. R."

Ordered, that his Majesty's most gracious answer be entered in the journals of this House.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return our most sincere thanks to his Majesty, for his most gracious answer to the address of this House.

Ordered, that such members of this House as are of his Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council do attend his Grace the Lord Lieutenant with the said resolution, and desire the same may be laid before his Majesty as the address of this House.

The Right Hon. Mr. Secretary *Pelham* reported that the address of this House to his Majesty, in favour of the children of the late Lord Chief Baron Burgh, had been presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, and that thereupon his Excellency was pleased to return the answer following:

" I will take the first opportunity of transmitting this address to be laid before his Majesty."

Ordered, that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's answer be entered in the journals of this House.

Mr. *Hartley* moved, that an account of the different exports and imports should be referred to the committee of trade.

Mr. *Hartley* presented a petition from the Chamber of Commerce, stating the unequal terms on which the trade of this kingdom was carried on; our ports thrown open to all English manufactures, on paying a moderate duty, whilst the English ports were either shut against our manufactures, or such duties imposed on them as amounted to a prohibition: Therefore praying for prohibitory duties.

Mr. *Attorney General* observed it would be proper that the petitioners should be named, a body styling themselves the Council or Chamber of Commerce; after a short conversation the petition was referred to the committee.

Mr. *Hartley* also presented a petition from the Broad Cloth working Manufacturers. Referred to a committee of trade.

Mr. *Cuffe*, after an eulogium on the late Sir William Osborne, which he concluded by saying, " We shall not look upon his

like again," moved, that the Speaker do issue his writ for electing a member in his room.—Ordered.

Mr. *Fitzgerald* presented a petition from Robert Collelo, of Clane, in the county of Meath, praying aid for his Cotton Manufactory.—Also moved, that the proper officer lay before the House, an account of the progress of the tax on all salaries, employments, fees, and pensions paid for ten years past, by persons who have not resided six months at any one time in the kingdom; distinguishing the persons by whom said tax has been paid; and the profits of their employments, as certified by the oaths of the receivers.

Mr. *Clements* moved, that the proper officers furnish an account of the different sums of 8084*l.* 13*s.* and 8032*l.* paid by him to the public coal yards.

Mr. *Toler* presented a petition from the Hon. John James Maxwell, of the county Cavan, complaining of an undue election.

Mr. *Montgomery* entering warmly into a defence of his conduct during the election, and reprobating the interference of Lord Farnham, was called to order; and after some altercation silenced.

Mr. *Montgomery* proposed a resolution—That when a committee appointed to try the merits of a petition, shall declare it to be frivolous and vexatious, this House will pass a severe censure on the petitioners.—Carried *nem con.*

Sir *Edward Newenham* presented a petition from Thomas Holland and William Plym, for themselves and others, complaining of an undue election for the borough of Kilmallock; and another from the provost and inhabitants of said borough; both of which were ordered to be heard the 4th of November, next.

The *Provost* presented a petition of Henry and James Sadlier, of the city of Cork, Cotton Manufacturers, praying aid to promote and extend the said manufacture.—Referred to the consideration of a committee.

He delivered to the House two certificates in support of the said petitions, which were referred to the said committee.

The Hon. *John Stratford* moved, that the proper officer do lay before the House the number of the persons who have become bankrupts from the year 1777 to the present day, with the amount of the sum for which each bankrupt failed, and how much in the pound each bankrupt paid to his creditors, distinguishing those who have obtained certificates.—Ordered accordingly.

Mr. *Bulke* presented a petition from Mr. Ellison, master of Kilkenny school, praying aid to enlarge the same.—Referred to a committee.

On this petition Mr. *Bushe* observed, that nothing would more powerfully operate against gentlemen becoming absentees, than making education convenient at home; that beside the vast sums sent away to support pupils abroad, which might thereby be saved, it had a further effect, for in looking over the great and respectable list of noblemen and gentlemen educated at Kilkenny, he could find very few who afterwards became absentees; on the contrary, in looking over the absentee list, he found that very few who compose it had been educated in Ireland; this he thought arose from the affection men obtain for the place in which they spend their earlier and happier days, and where they form their first friendships and connections.

Mr. *Bushe* was supported by the *Provost*, who said, that he had long seen the necessity of two or more great public schools, similar to Westminster and Eton, being established in this kingdom. That in the North, a Right Rev. Prelate had already taken much pains to establish one; and, in the South, Kilkenny, from a number of circumstances, (beside the merit of Doctor Ellison, who he thought peculiarly entitled to protection) was the proper place for another; the expence of education in England, he said, was enormous; to his knowledge, it cost 800*l.* per ann. for several years, to support and educate three young gentlemen at Eton. He then slightly glanced over a scheme he intended to propose, for establishing great schools in Ireland, and said at a convenient day he would bring it before the House.

Mr. *Ponsonby* presented a petition from *Richard Talbot*, of Malahide, in the county of Dublin, setting forth that petitioner has at very great expence brought over from England a compleat set of machinery for perpetual spinning, (the first that ever was imported into this kingdom) with proper people from thence to attend the same, which will be of great advantage to this kingdom, by furnishing both to cotton weavers and hosiers that species of thread so necessary to their manufactures, and submitting the premises to the consideration of the House.

Referred to the consideration of a committee.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* acquainted the House that he would, after Christmas, move the House to reduce the interest of money to five per cent.

Mr. *Crofton* moved that an account should be laid before the House of the application of the money, (eight thousand pounds) granted for making the Shannon navigable from Limerick to Kilaloe. This sum had been granted on condition that a company should subscribe ten thousand pounds, which was soon done, and two thousand forthwith paid, which with the eight thousand, they immediately gave to a Mr. *Hercules Brown*, who undertook to complete the work. This gentleman however had done little or nothing, and the object of Mr. *Crofton* was to compel him to

fulfil his engagement, as he had given good security. Mr. *Crofton* lamented the wretched state of the Shannon navigation in other parts—the banks fallen in—locks without gates, requiring fifty men to drag a boat through them—the lock houses, as unnecessary, fallen to decay, while whole families in Limerick were perishing for want of fuel, though some of the best coal mines in the world are on the Shannon. Ordered.

The *Recorder* presented a petition from the corporation of Dublin, praying aid for carrying on the ballast-office wall, and stating that though 2000*l.* had been voted for this purpose last session, and made payable to the corporation, on their producing a clear account to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, and though petitioners had complied, and stated their account, yet from some cause, unknown to petitioners, they had not been able to obtain the said 2000*l.* The *Recorder* moved to have it referred to a committee.

Mr. *Beresford* arose; not, he said, to oppose the petition going to a committee, but to make some observations upon it. He said the petitioners had stated the truth, but not the whole truth, for as to the grant of 2000*l.* which they had not received, they knew it was because their account was deemed unsatisfactory. He proved from the papers of the office, that all assistance from the corporation revenues diminished in exact proportion as parliamentary bounty increased: and thought, as the improvement of the harbour of Dublin was a great national object, it ought to be taken out of the present hands and placed in others, who would manage it more to the public advantage.

Mr. *Foster*, in addition to what Mr. *Beresford* had advanced, said, that the revenue of the ballast office for the last thirty years, had been 4000*l.* a year; yet in all that time they had expended but 4000*l.* of this revenue upon the improvement of the harbour.

The *Recorder* also presented a petition of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens of the City of Dublin, in common council assembled, which was read, setting forth that the ornament and convenience of the Merchants-quay is rendered incomplete by means of the houses immediately connected with and adjoining the west end of the said quay, at the Old Bridge, and also at the east end thereof, near Ormond Bridge, and praying aid for removing the same.

Mr. *Latouche* objected to the petition, as a tax upon coals had been granted for beautifying the city at large, and that in time it would of course reach the quays.

Mr. *Hartley* said, that the widening Dame-street would run away with the produce of that tax for a considerable time; and that for a trifling sum it would be a shame to leave the quay unfinished.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1783.

The House in committee, on the state of the manufactures and trade of Ireland, Sir *Henry Cavendish* in the chair, Mr. *Hone* and Mr. *Eaton* examined; after which the committee adjourned until Monday next.

The Right Hon. Mr. *Speaker* reported that he had, pursuant to order, communicated, by letter, to George Earl Temple, the resolution of this House of the 15th of October, 1783, to which his Lordship was pleased, by letter, to return the answer following:

"SIR,

Stowe, October 23d, 1783.

"I am honoured with your letter of the 16th, inclosing the resolution of the House of Commons of the 15th instant.

"I must request you to convey to the House my sincere and grateful acknowledgments for this distinguished mark of their goodness to me; my feelings of honest ambition are amply gratified by the approbation of his Majesty and of the kingdom whose interests he was pleased to commit to my care; and the only return which I can make for the flattering testimony which you have transmitted, is the assurance of my unremitting attention to the interests of Ireland, which must be ever dear to me, and my fervent wish for the continuance of the dignity and authority of your honourable House.

"Permit me to add my fullest sense of the very favourable expressions in your letter, and to assure you of the high respect and regard with which

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your very obedient humble Servant,

NUGENT TEMPLE."

"*Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons of Ireland.*"

Some papers were delivered at the bar, concerning the barrack board accounts, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. George *Montgomery* moved, that an order be given to print in future, all petitions on contested elections at the charge of the House.

Mr. *Toler*, Mr. *Flood*, Mr. *Monk Mason*, and Sir *Henry Cavendish* opposed this motion, on the score of its creating an useless expence, and being without precedent. On the question being put, a division ensued, when there appeared for the motion,

Ayes	30
Noes	38

Sir *John Parnel* presented the petition of Sir A. Brooke, complaining of an undue election for the county Fermanagh.

Referred to the 5th of November next.

Mr. *Crofton* presented a petition from William Irwine, Esq; also complaining of an undue election for the same county; to which was added a petition from the freeholders of the same.

Referred to the 5th of November next.

Mr. *Hatton* moved, that the consideration of the petition complaining of an undue election for Baltimore, be postponed to a further day.

Referred to the 25th of November next.

The Hon. *Denis Browne* moved, that the proper officer be ordered to lay before the House, an account of the several sums paid by the different collectors out of the 100,000*l.* granted for raising the 20,000 men voted on the 27th of May, 1782, to man the British fleet, with the agents receipts for the same.

Mr. *Gardiner* presented the petition of Joseph Smith, cotton manufacturer, at Balbriggan, praying aid, in order to support the works carrying on at that place. Mr. *Gardiner* declared that he had, with several other gentlemen, visited those works, which were of such magnitude as to employ 1200 persons daily, of which number six hundred were children. This, he said, was the true mode of promoting industry in early life, practised, indeed, in foreign countries, but little known here. Added to this, he said, that Mr. Smith would give security for the repayment of any sum the House would think proper to vote for this purpose.

Referred to a committee.

Mr. *Gardiner* likewise presented a petition from the working worsted weavers, which was also referred to a committee.

The Hon. *Richard Hely Hutchinson* presented a petition from certain freeholders and freemen of the city of Cork, complaining of an undue election for that city, and containing allegations which made Mr. *R. Longfield* rise, and declare, that the petition was against him, and the allegations were totally false.

Here he was interrupted by the *Speaker*, who said it was contrary to order that he should proceed; and Mr. *Longfield* attempting to explain, Sir *H. Langrishe* insisted on the point of order.—Mr. *Hutchinson* also attempting to explain, was silenced by the same rule.

The *Provoost* put an end to the matter, by observing that a petition had been lodged against him, with, he supposed, as heavy charges, but he heard it read without feeling any emotion, or giving it any interruption, until it should appear before the committee, who, in his mind, were the proper jury to give it a trial. He could not, at the same time, help observing, that when the order of the House was transgressed, and unparliamentary language used, which might occasion a difference, that gen-

lemen would prevent a member from giving an explanation. Here Mr. *Longfield* declared he did not, in mentioning the untruth of the petition, allude to the Hon. Member who presented it; and Mr. *Hutchinson* declared he was satisfied.

The *Provost* declared, he wished to see the gentlemen live on the most friendly terms, and he was, in regard to himself, of the same disposition, though local occasions might sometimes make them differ in opinion.

Referred to the committee on the Cork election.

Mr. *Beresford* said, that as he was returned for two places, he prayed leave to make his choice for the county of Waterford. Leave granted.

Mr. *Flood*. Sir, I wish to take the earliest opportunity of speaking a few words to you, and addressing a few to the House, upon the situation in which I left this House last Tuesday. You heard, Sir, and the public heard me; the subject, as I think, of an unwarranted attack. I rose to defend myself, I am sure with temper. I am not lightly moved; and I think I should be lightly moved, indeed, if I could have been moved by that. I was, however, interrupted, though I did not bring any fictitious subject before you, or set out without the least appearance of any argument. In consequence of this interruption, Sir, I left the House; but soon after, I understand, that the House thought proper to say, they would give me liberty to proceed, and I wish to take the earliest opportunity of returning them my thanks for that permission. At the same time, Sir, that I return my thanks for that permission, I hope they will suffer me to render it not an empty indulgence, but, upon the present occasion, to take up the subject where I left it the last night.--[Mr. *Tyler* rose to order; but Mr. *Flood* proceeded]—I hope gentlemen will not interrupt me: when they find me going out of order—when they hear me drawing fictitious characters, let them stop me—when I say any thing unparliamentary—when I recall the asperity of that day, which, whilst I despise, I must disapprove. I rise in defence of what I think, an injured character. As I have endeavoured to defend the rights of this country for twenty-four years, I hope they will permit me to defend my reputation. My life, Sir, has been divided into three parts, and it has been dispatched by three epithets: one part, Sir, that which preceded Lord Harcourt's administration; another which passed between Lord Harcourt's and Lord Carlisle's; and the third, which is subsequent. The first has a summary justice, or injustice done to it, by being said to be intemperate; the second is treated in like manner, by being said to be venal; and the conduct of the third is said to be that of an incendiary.—

Mr. *O'Hara*, to order; it is against order to speak of what passed on a former day, not that any thing the Hon.

Gentleman has said now, is improper, but that the order of the House forbids a reference to the debates of a former day.

Mr. *blood*. I take this matter up, upon the ground of an interrupted debate; it is in that light it comes within order. I have a right to begin where I was interrupted; but, Sir, there are some cases of so particular a nature, that a strict adherence to a general order would be the height of injustice. In the attack made upon my person, I went back, not only to the arguments of two or three days before, but to the conduct of twenty years antecedent—therefore, Sir, I hope, that if animadversions of twenty years are allowed to one, I may have an opportunity of referring to arguments used three days ago: With respect to that period of my life, which is dispatched by the word intemperate, I beg gentlemen would consider the hard situation of public characters, if that is to be their treatment; that period takes in a number of years, not less than sixteen, in which there were five administrations, and in which the public were pleased to give me their sentence of approbation. Sir, it includes, for I wish to speak to facts, not to take it up upon epithets, it includes the Duke of Bedford's, Lord Halifax's, the Duke of Northumberland's, Lord Hertford's, and Lord Townshend's.

Now, Sir, as to the fact of intemperance, I will state to you how that stands, and let the gentleman see how a plain tale shall put him down. Of those five administrations, there were three to which I was so far from giving an intemperate opposition, that I could not be said, in any sense of the word, to oppose them at all; I mean the three first.—I certainly voted against the Secretary of the day, but oftener voted with him. In Lord Hertford's administration, I had attained to a certain view and decided opinion of what was fit, in my mind, to be done for this country. I had fixed upon three great objects of public utility. I endeavoured to attain them, with that spirit and energy with which it is my character and nature to speak and to act; as I must take the disadvantages of my nature, I will take the advantages of it too. These three great objects were resisted by that administration: What was the consequence? A conflict arose between that administration and me; but that conflict ought not to be called opposition on my part; no, it ought rather to be called opposition on theirs; I was the propounder, and they resisted my propositions. This may be called a conflict, not an opposition to that administration. What were those three objects? One was to prove that the constitution of parliament in this kingdom, did still exist; that it had not been taken away by the law of Poyning's, but that it was an infamous perversion of that statute, by which the constitution had suffered: The other was the establishment of a constitutional military force, in superaddition to that of a standing army.—The only idea that ever occurred to England, or any free country of Europe, I adopted, namely, that of a constitu-

tional militia. At that time the idea of a Volunteer force had not arisen, therefore, I adopted the idea which at that time appeared to be the best.—The third great object I took up as necessary for this country, was a law for limiting the duration of parliaments; these were three great, salutary, and noble objects, worthy of the enlarged mind of an enlarged country.—I pursued them with ardour, I do not deny it; but I did not pursue them with intemperance.—I am sure I did not appear to the public to do so; they gave my exertions many flattering testimonies of their approbation.—There is another proof that I was not intemperate; I was successful, intemperance and miscarriage are apt to go together, but temperance and success are associated by nature.—This is my plain history with regard to that period. The clumsiness or virulence of invective may require to be sheathed in a brilliancy of diction, but plain truth and plain sense are best delivered in plain terms. I now come to that period, in which Lord Harcourt governed, and which is stigmatized by the word venal. I say, Lord Harcourt's, for in my consideration of his administration, I will include that of Lord Townshend. If every man who accepts an office is venal, and an apostate, I certainly cannot acquit myself of the charge, nor is it necessary—I should have so many associates in the crime, if ever there was a crime in what multitudes would defend. I am sensible multitudes and majorities would not be wanting to defend that.—But, I say, either it is a crime, or it is not—if it be a crime universally, let it be universally ascribed. But, Sir, I say, it is not fair, that one set of men should be treated by that Hon. Member as great friends and lovers of their country, notwithstanding they are in office; and another man, because he was in office, should be treated as an enemy and an apostate—but what is the truth. Every thing of this sort depends upon the principles on which office is taken, and on which it is retained—with regard to me, let no man imagine I am preaching up a doctrine for my own convenience; there is not a man less concerned in the propagation of it. I have no treaty with the Right Hon. Gentleman on the floor, nor shall I have any,

Now, Sir, I shall beg leave shortly to state the manner in which I accepted that office, which I give you my word I never will refuse. It was offered to me in the most honourable manner, with an assurance not only of being a placeman for my own profit, but a minister for the benefit of my country. My answer was, that I thought, in a constitution, such as ours, an intercourse between the prince and the subject ought to be honourable, the being a minister ought to redound to a man's credit; but I lamented that it often happened otherwise: men in office often gave up those principles which they maintained before. I told them, therefore, that my objections were not to the going into office, but to following the examples which I had sometimes seen before

me. I mentioned the public principles I held. I said, if consistently with those principles, from an atom of which I would not depart, I could be of service to his Majesty's government, I was ready to be so; I speak in the presence of men who know what I say. After the office had come over, and landed in this kingdom, I sent in writing to the chief governor, that I would not accept the office, unless upon that principle.

Thus, Sir, I took office; the administration before I opposed only in part of it; in the first session of Lord Townshend I did not oppose; I never opposed Lord Townshend till after his prorogation and protest. This appeared to me an infamous violation of the privileges of parliament. With regard to money-bills, and after that protest, by which he endeavoured to make the journals of the House of Lords, instead of being the record of their privileges, the monument of their disgrace, I opposed him; now what did I oppose in that administration?—The violation of the privilege of this House, with regard to money-bills, and the wanton augmentation of offices, by the division of the board of commissioners into two parts. In Lord Harcourt's administration, what did I do? I had the two boards of commissioners reduced again into one. I do not say my single voice effected this, but as far as it had any efficacy, it insisted on having the twelve commissioners again reduced to seven, and the two boards to one, a saving, including the whole arrangement, of twenty thousand pounds a year to the nation. It went further; it insisted to have every altered money-bill thrown out, and privy-council money-bills not defended by the crown. Thus, instead of giving sanction to the measures I had opposed, my conduct was in fact to register my principles in the records of the court, to make the privy-council a witness to the privileges of parliament, and to give final energy to the tenets with which I commenced my life. Oeconomy did not stop with the reduction of the commissioners boards. The Right Honourable Gentleman who has censured me, in order to depreciate that oeconomy, said, that we had swept with the feather of oeconomy, the pens and paper off your table—a pointed and a brilliant expression is far from a just argument. This country has no reason to be ashamed of that species of oeconomy, when the great nation of Great Britain has been obliged to descend to an oeconomy as minute. Neither, Sir, was this all, it is not my fault if infinitely more was not done for this country upon that occasion; they were offered a saving, they did not chuse to take it—they were offered the absentee-tax, and they refused it: I am not to blame for that, it was a part of the saving proposed. If administration were wrong on that occasion, they were wrong with the prejudices of half a century, they were wrong with every great writer that had ever written upon the subject of Ireland; they were wrong with some of the plainest principles, as it seems,

of human nature in their favour.—I will suppose the determination not to accept it to have been right, still it was meritorious in administration to offer it; and to shew that I was not under any undue influence of office; I appeal to the memory of many men present—whether; when the disposition of the House was made to alter upon that subject, and when administration yielded, not unwillingly, to the violence of parliament, I appeal to the conscious and public knowledge of many; whether I did veer and turn about with the Secretary; or whether I did not make a manly stand in favour of that principle; after having pledged myself, to the public, I would rather break with a million of administrations than retract?

I not only adhered to it; but by a singular instance of exertion, I forced it a second time under the consideration of this House.—That this benefit was lost to this country; if it be a benefit, it was not my fault. One thing I must go back to; I had repeatedly pressed the bill for limiting the duration of Parliaments. In Lord Townshend's time; I brought it in finally, and crowned it with success; thus I restored to the universal community of Ireland, a right of which they had been robbed for near a century, namely, their first and fundamental franchise as electors, without which this House is but a shadow. And thus after having restored that root of all their other rights in Lord Townshend's administration; after having restored œconomy and reduced twelve commissioners to seven in Lord Harcourt's, I went on to the other great measure which I have mentioned; the militia law; and when a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Ogle) moved that question, I engaged all the interest I could with government in behalf of it; I rose up to second his motion, and declared I would support him and his militia bill to the last; accordingly I gave him the assistance of my poor labours; and it was carried; thus therefore, Sir, I say that in that administration in which I accepted office, instead of relinquishing my principles I preserved them. Instead of getting a minority to vote for them; I brought the majority to give an efficient sanction to their truth; by entering into office upon that occasion and acting as I did; I acted the part of an honest minister between the prince and the people; in doing so I think I was more a patriot than if out of office I had made empty declamations on empty subjects; without any advantage to the public. Most of those who hear me can recollect the state of this kingdom at the close of Lord Townshend's administration—I appeal to them all; and I ask what was then my repute in the nation? I will not say it was the first, or the second; or the third; but did it not stand in an honourable rank; and among the foremost rather than among the last? In Lord Harcourt's government, the Vice-Treasurership was offered to me, accompanied with every declaration that could render it acceptable to an honourable mind. When that office was offered to me,

was my situation that of a reprobated man? Did the administration of England send over an office usually reserved for the parliament of England, and offer it of their own accord to a reprobated man? I take the facts of both countries to disprove this calumny. Is it since I have become a mark of obloquy? I flatter myself not. Lord Buckinghamshire's administration succeeded.—With regard to Lord Harcourt's administration, the objection is, I did too much; the charge with regard to the other is, I did too little for it; those two accusations run a little in contrary direction, and like a double poison, each may cure the operation of the other; but the fact is this, I acted not upon visions and imaginations, but on sound common sense, the best gift of God to man; which then told me, and still whispers that some administrations deserve a more active support than others; that some administrations deserve little of either; I adapted my conduct to those three conditions, I did not run headlong against government at one time, and with government at another, but adopted my conduct as I ought to do, to what I saw and what I felt. Did I support Lord Harcourt? Why?—Because he gave me an influence in his councils. It is nonsense to say, a man is not to support his own councils; but the next administration took another direction, and they did not give me any influence on their councils. What was the consequence? I did not give them support: was there any thing more fair? I felt myself a man of too much situation to be a mere place-man. If not a minister to serve my country, I would not be the tool of salary. What was the consequence? I voted with them in matters of importance when they were clearly right; I voted against them in matters of importance when they were clearly wrong; and in matters of small moment I did not vote at all:—and why? I scorned, by voting for them in such matters, to seem to pay court. To vote against them in such matters would have been absurd. What remained? Not to vote at all. If you call that absconding, going behind the chair, or escaping into the corridors, call it what you please, I say it was right.—This is my plain way of dealing; it is common sense. I told Lord Buckinghamshire, I would not attend the cabinet councils of the sage Mr. Heron. Was that duplicity? I think not. I did more; I lent my resignation to England, to the same friend through whom the first communication was made to me on the subject of office; but, from the ideas of friendship to me, he took time to consider, and at length declined to deliver my resignation. I have said something to the middle period, I shall come to the third, viz. Lord Carlisle's administration, in which my conduct has been slandered as the conduct of an incendiary; when that idea took place in some minds I cannot tell, but this I am sure of—that the right Hon. Gentleman who censured me, was called an incendiary at that time, and so perhaps might I, but I am sure the

Right Hon. Gentleman at that time, did not think me an incendiary more than himself. There was not a single instance in which he did not co-operate. If I am an incendiary, I shall gladly accept, therefore, of the society of that Right Hon. Gentleman under the same appellation: But he laughed at the folly of the accusation at that time, and so do I now. If I was an incendiary, it was for moving what the parliaments of both kingdoms have since given their sanction to: If that is to be an incendiary, God grant I may continue so! In this administration it was that I was dismissed from office; now, Sir, I do not know that, in general, my dismissal from office was thought any disgrace to me: I do not think this House or the nation thought me dishonoured by that dismissal. The first day I declared those sentiments for which I was dismissed—I *remember it well*—I thought it for my *honour*; some very honourable and worthy gentlemen, some since dead, and some still alive, one of them whom I shall ever love and shall ever lament; one of them is dead since to every thing but his own honour and the grateful memory of his country; one of them who thought me so little of the character of an incendiary, that he crossed the House, together with others, to congratulate me on the honour of my conduct; and to embrace me in open parliament: At that moment I think I stood clear to the imputation of being an incendiary. The character of an incendiary, therefore, seems to have been superinduced upon me of a sudden; it has sprouted out and germinated from that root of much evil, the simple repeal: since that moment only, it seems that I have been going down in the opinion of the public; since that moment they have found out my character and conduct deserve all reprobation, and deserve the brand—of being an incendiary; and yet I can hardly prevail upon myself to think that is the case, because, since that moment, I have received more honourable testimonies from every corner of the kingdom, than that Right Hon. Member has received in the same period. I shall return once more to the sentiments of that beloved character I have just described: He was a man, over whose life, or over whose grave, Envy never hovered; He was a man, wishing ardently to serve his country himself, but not wishing to monopolize the service; wishing to partake and to communicate the glory of what passed: He gave me in his motion for a free trade, a full participation of the honour. Upon another occasion he said—I *remember the words*—they are traced with the *pencil of gratitude* on my heart—He said, “That I was a man whom the most lucrative office in the land had never warped in point of integrity.” The words were marked; I am sure I repeat them fairly—they are words I should be proud to have inscribed upon my tomb. Consider the man from whom they came; consider the magnitude of the subject on which they were spoken; consider the situation of the persons concerned, and it adds to,

and multiplies the honour. My noble friend,—I beg pardon, he did not live to be ennobled by patent, but he was born ennobled by nature; his situation at that moment was this; He had found himself obliged to surrender office, and enter into active opposition to that government from whom he had received it. I remained in office, though under the circumstance of having sent my resignation, that he did not know; in political position therefore we were contradistinguished to each other: He did not know, while he was doing justice to me, but that he might be doing political detriment to himself; he did not know but he might serve the administration he opposed; but, careless of any thing except justice and honour, he gave the sentiments of his heart—and he approved. I have mentioned, Sir, that short period, during which the character of an incendiary, if at all applicable to me, must have come upon me in the night, like an enemy, and have taken me unawares; I cannot think the opinion of the public so transformed, when I see every corner of the country expressing their approbation of my conduct, one after another;—great and respectable societies of men, compared with whose sentiments the obloquy of an individual sinks into nothing. Even this very day, I have received from the united delegates of the province of Connaught, an approbation, with one voice, as they express it, of that conduct which has been slandered as the conduct of an incendiary. Here is a congregation of men, not one of whom I have ever seen, to none of whom I have ever a chance of doing a service, who could have nothing in contemplation, but the doing an act of justice. Sir, I may say, I had the same sanction from another province, that of Ulster. But it seems I went to Belfast in the character of an incendiary: I went to Dungannon in the character of an incendiary. Now I went to neither of those places but by an invitation, and if a person invited be an incendiary, what must those be that give the invitation? If I am an incendiary, all Ulster is an incendiary; if I am an incendiary, all Connaught is an incendiary—with two provinces therefore at my back, and with the parliament of England behind me—in their having coincided honourably, and nobly in that sentiment, which I sustained, I think I am not much afraid of any single and solitary accusation. But I have not only the parliaments of both kingdoms, I have the judicial power in my favour. If my doctrine was not right, Lord Mansfield's was not right; I ask you was he wrong? It has been said he was the enemy of both countries on that occasion. But has the accusation been proved? Lord Mansfield has many political enemies: The administration at the time would have been glad to have proved him an enemy to both countries, yet was there a man in the parliament of England, the greatest enemy to that noble judge, who attempted to find fault with his conduct? After

having mentioned the judicial power, let me come to a highly respectable body, the corps of Lawyers in this country, who after six months meditation by a committee chosen by ballot, gave their sanction to that opinion, which is the opinion of an incendiary if I deserve that name. If Lord Mansfield be an incendiary, if the parliament of England be an incendiary, if the Corps of Lawyers are incendiaries, if the Ulster Delegates are incendiaries, if the Connaught Delegates are incendiaries, and all the societies who have joined that opinion throughout the kingdom—if all of these be incendiaries, in the name of God let me be added to the number, and let me be an incendiary too. But though I may be such an incendiary, I will never be that which would deserve the name; I will never by any hollow composition—lay the seeds of future dissension: I will go clearly and fully to the work. I will be satisfied when satisfaction is given: my nature is as prone to satisfaction, and as distant from chagrin as that of any man. I appeal to those who know me from my childhood, first at a public school, then at the university of this kingdom, then at the university of Oxford, and afterwards during twenty-four years, taking no very private part within the walls of this House—I have spoken to facts. I do not mean to arraign: Any man may be mistaken, and I wish to suppose any man to be really mistaken rather than to be sointendedly. I would rather reconcile all men to the public, than make unnecessary divisions. But though I would do every thing a man can do to prevent dissension, I cannot be expected to sacrifice my character to unlimited obloquy. Sir, one circumstance I must mention as it is somewhat extraordinary: It has been said by some authority on that side of the question, that I am the out-cast of government, and of my prince; certainly Sir, my dismissal from office was attended with the extraordinary circumstance of my dismissal from council; therefore I suppose it is that the Right Hon. Member has called me the out-cast of government and of my prince. It certainly, Sir, was an extraordinary transaction, but it was done in the case of Mr. Pulteney, it was done in the case of the Duke of Devonshire; therefore I suppose it will not be a decisive proof of my reprobated or factious character in the person to whom it happened. It is the first time it has been mentioned to my disadvantage. It was in the House of Lords of England mentioned to the disadvantage of the minister who was supposed to have done it by a most respectable character; it was thought not to my dishonour here; it was thought not to my dishonour in the House of Lords of Ireland, where I have lately received from a very eminent peer, the sanction of sentiments very different from these. In a word, it is but the sentence of one tongue, and upon that tongue I leave it. I do not however pretend to dispute a ministerial fact, which a gentleman in confidence alledges. He has been in the confidence

of the Duke of Portland, he is as much a minister as any man who is not in office.

Thus much, therefore, I must give to this ministerial assertion, that I shall find it impossible for me, under such an interdict, to pay my respects at his majesty's castle of Dublin, which otherwise I should be prompt to discharge.—And I mention it, thus publicly, that my absence may not be interpreted into any want of the most perfect duty and loyalty to my prince, or of the greatest respect to the nobleman who presides there. I am not a man formed to court proscription; I will not seek disgrace, let it remain in its den, I will not revoke it. Sir, I have trespassed too long, and I am oppressed with the weight and multitude of thanks which I owe you and the House; I have troubled you too long upon a private subject, but, with your permission, I will endeavour to make amends the next day, by bringing before you a subject of more importance, the oeconomy of the nation; I beg pardon for what I have said, I have promised too much, I am in your judgment whether I shall do it. You have heard what has passed upon my subject; I appeal to you, if I am that character that has been drawn; if I am that character in any degree, I do not deprecate your justice; but I call for it; and exhort you, for yourselves and your country, to get rid of a member who would be unworthy to sit among you.

Sir *Edward Newenham* and Mr. *Grattan* both arose at the same time; but the House calling upon the first gentleman, he proceeded and said, that he trembled for the honour and dignity of parliament, if either of the gentlemen were suffered to proceed further; that an accusation had been made, and a defence was heard; neither of the gentlemen could desire more; and he hoped the House would be unanimous in supporting his question of adjournment; that their country called upon those two gentlemen to exert their great and eminent abilities in support of those important measures which were soon to come before them, and not throw away their time, or misapply those abilities in personal altercations.

The whole House seemed to approve of what Sir *Edward Newenham* said; and the question of adjournment was carried.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3.

The *Speaker* took the chair earlier than usual. After three members were sworn in,

The order of the day, appointing the trial of the petition of John William Foster, and Richard Dawson, Esqrs. against Lord Jocelyn, for an undue election in the borough of Dundalk, was read; when the *Speaker* proceeded in the accustomed form (after the House had been called over) to draw from glasses thirty names,

out of which the parties might chuse fifteen, pursuant to Mr. *Fitzgibbon's* amendment of the Grenville act, as a committee for the trial. When the names were drawn, and delivered to the respective agents, they withdrew, and shortly after returned and presented the following names :

Sir Barry Denny, Bart.

Mr. Cope,

Sir Francis Hutchinson, Br.

J. Staples, Esq.

Right Hon. George Ogle,

J. Stewart, Esq.

Edward Crofton, Esq.

J. Uniacke, Esq.

Right Hon. J. Hely Hutchinson,

Right Hon. J. Cusse,

J. Parker Bushe, Esq.

Isaac Corry, Esq.

Major Vowell,

Robert Sandford, Esq.

Counsellor Rowley.

who were accordingly sworn at the table.

While the parties concerned were nominating their committee, Mr. *Alexander English* observed to the House, that the petition presented against him, for an undue election for the borough of Enniscorthy, and upon which an order had been made for its trial on Wednesday next, was not an authentic paper, as not one of the names signed thereto was written by the persons themselves. He was answered by

Mr. *Fitzgibbon*, who said, the Honourable Gentleman's objection had no weight, unless he could prove that those names were signed without the knowledge or concurrence of the persons; and that the contrary could be proved, and the petition authenticated by the testimony of one of the petitioners, whose avowal alone was sufficient for the purpose.

Accordingly, Mr. *Grogan*, a burghers of Enniscorthy, was brought to the bar, and the petition being read to him by the Clerk, deposed, that his name thereto signed was by his order, after having been transmitted a copy of the petition; and he avowed the petition.

The *Speaker* declared it therefore as his opinion, that the petition being avowed by one of the petitioners, the order of the day for trying it on Wednesday must stand.

Mr. *Flood* said, Notwithstanding the late hour, and the suffocation with which we are at present threatened in this House, and which will, I trust in future be prevented by some contrivance to admit the fresh air without danger of cold, I cannot avoid offering to your consideration, a plan which will introduce a system of œconomy into the state, and thereby enable this country to avoid that abyss of poverty and wretchedness, with which through the mismanagement of the minister, and corruption of his satellites we are now threatened.—A military reduction I consider as affording the only solid ground for œconomy.—To reduce the civil list would be frivolous—pitiful—undeserving the name of œcono-

my; and therefore ought to bring contempt on such as would venture to rest solely there—not that I think the civil list ought to escape the pruning hand of this House, for every little will help—but so materially do our present expenditures exceed our income, that the whole civil list being struck off, would by no means equal them;—to begin with it therefore is ridiculous—that this is the proper time for entering on this discussion no man can deny—if we wait till the committee of supply sit, we shall be told tis too late—so rapid and constant too has our extravagance been, that no time should be lost in interposing on behalf of our country. In the year 1755 you were not in debt—in the beginning of the late war you were not in debt—At the conclusion of the war you owed but 500,000*l.* yet in the time of peace you quadruple that debt, notwithstanding the people and manufactures were burdened with new and excessive taxation.—Your revenue has increased, and your debts have kept pace with it—since the augmentation was voted, this has been regularly the course of things—let the virtue then of 1783, correct the abuses of 1762—the causes of which then originated in the breach of the minister of the day—a man as able as he was crafty—a man who wanting natural substituted pecuniary influence, who unconnected in this country had great connections to oppose—thus situated, he at first carried his ideas so far that he applied for an augmentation of 20,000 men—but this was so truly laughable, that it was scouted at—this unreasonable plan was reduced to 15,000 men—but foreseeing that it would not be easy to carry even this point at one stroke, he artfully introduced a resolution, that 12,000 men were necessary for the defence of this country, knowing that we dare not meddle with the 3500 which we had always paid for England—thus did we become dupes to his ambition—and we were saddled with an army of officers—not privates—an army of expence—not of use—an army of the minister—not of the people.

I know arguments will be found to prove that all this was expedient, and that the great number of officers and regiments are necessary; but I shall only ask, would the king of Prussia (and though I highly honour and respect the Right Honourable Gentleman who commands our army, it is no disgrace to set him the King of Prussia for an example) act so? No. I say, the King of Prussia, who is on all hands allowed to understand military matters as well as any individual now alive, differs widely from us in the regulation of his army; in it the proportion of privates to officers is not as ours is, nearly double to what it is in our army.—No—we know that he has not one-fourth our number of officers in proportion to his troops. Some regulation to this effect might also afford ground for considerable retrenchment, and for one such regulation it should meet my support, merely in compliment to

the opinion of that great man; and his opinion we may easily collect from his practice. Now if the present distressed state of our finances be traced to this source; if a faulty military establishment, encreased by a more faulty augmentation, be the cause of our enormous debt, the time of peace is surely the proper time to apply a remedy; but that this business may not depend merely on what I say, I have it in my power to apply to the records of the House for corroborating testimony. In the year 1763, there was a committee (of the greatest consequence, if we consider the men who composed it) to take this question into consideration; I shall call for their report, in which you will see the greatest abuses exposed, you will see that our expences outran our revenues 150,000*l.* per year before the augmentation, and that since that time we have encreased in extravagance 100,000*l.* more per annum, making each session 500,000*l.* increase of our debt; as, therefore it is in this department our great expence lies, it is by retrenching this we can hope effectually to serve the nation, to prevent her from bankruptcy and save her from ruin: and is there any man who will say this ought not to be done, or that it is not a consummation devoutly to be wished?

In the civil list, we may indeed make some trifling retrenchments, but nothing that can essentially relieve the nation. Is there any man who will say, that 12,000 men may not be maintained as heretofore? No, nor will any man say that what we could save by oeconomy and retrenchment, should be thrown away on a military establishment, when it might be applied to other measures infinitely more beneficial to the nation.—Mr. Flood then moved, that the Clerk should read the report of the committee appointed in 1763, to consider the military establishment of this kingdom and the expence thereof.

[The Clerk then read at the table the report of the committee in 1763; after which]

The *Attorney General* said that the committee of supply, which would sit on Thursday, would be a more proper place for bringing on a business of the kind, as it might be there more fully and properly debated.

Mr. Flood said, that the present was the moment proper—that when there was no Irish mutiny bill, the committee of supply would have been the place; but he brought it on thus early, and in full House, that the ministers both here and in England might see the inability of the nation, and be prepared accordingly; after which he intended an humble address to his Majesty, stating the report of 1763, and the increased disability of the country to maintain so great an army in time of profound peace, and humbly praying his Majesty to restore the due proportion between the resources and expences of the kingdom. He did not mean to specify the minute articles of reform, but in general words to say,

that a retrenchment in the military establishment is absolutely necessary. [The report of the committee in 1768, stating the burthenfome military establishment as the cause of the great national inability and distress, was then read by the clerk,] whereupon Mr. Flood moved, That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, stating the same, and that since an augmentation has taken place, additional burdens had been laid on, by which we have been prevented from making any effectual retrenchment, but have much increased the expence of the nation.

Mr. *Denis Browne*.—I entirely coincide in the motion of the Right Honourable Gentleman, and if ministers do not, I shall expect to see them abandoned by many gentlemen who are at present seated around them; and many on this side who are well disposed to support them in every effort for the welfare of Ireland.—England now totters under an enormous debt; by frugality we may be enabled to assist her in the hour of distress; but by reducing our army we do not reduce our strength, for, if 50,000 men were wanted for the common cause we could immediately have them. If government oppose this great æconomical measure, it must appear to this House that their intentions and declarations are widely different; and I have no doubt but many respectable gentlemen, who I see disposed to concur with the present administration, will abandon it.

I therefore conjure ministers, by every hope they entertain of success, and the members of this House by every tie that binds them to their country, that they will ease the nation as much as may be, of the military expence. The country whose circulating cash is but one million and an half cannot bear the establishment; this is the favourable moment to reduce it, we want not an army to defeat us, neither do we want an army of observation, watching a favourable moment to enslave us.

Attorney General.—Notwithstanding all I have heard, I still think this motion premature; we have not yet examined the national accounts, and I will be bold to say, that if by the most vigorous exertions any reduction can be made in any department, (and much I think may be done) it will be made; but as to the number of troops, that number was fixed so long ago as the reign of King William the third, at a time which was indeed the beginning of a free constitution to England, but was the æra of slavery to Ireland; that number continued down to sixty-nine, when the augmentation took place, and it was then conditioned that 12,000 men should at all times be kept within the kingdom; nay, a verbal agreement was not thought sufficient, but it was stipulated that his Majesty's royal assurance, that he would at all times keep that number within this kingdom, should be inserted in the act which authorized such augmentation. This was deemed a great constitutional advantage, and a great statesman in Eng-

land, now no more, thought so deeply of it, that it was laying the prerogative under such great restriction, with respect to the disposal of the army, that he was wont to call this law—a feather plucked from the royal wing. In 1769, when the augmentation was made, we had before us the very report on which the Right Hon. Gentleman now lays so much stress; it was a time of profound peace, except as to the parliament of Britain, who were then attempting to wrest the *sceptre of omnipotence* from Providence; who were preparing letters for America, and rivetting the chains of Ireland. It was then said, and said with truth, that we were raising men to cut the throats of our brethren in America; but now give me leave to shew the situation of this country, and then let any man say, that what might even have been right formerly, would be becoming the parliament of Ireland now; for then every wind that brought wealth to England was the rude messenger of taxation; commerce lay stagnant in our ports, while misery and desolation overspread the land. Laws were made to station ships of war upon our coasts, to prevent us from enjoying those benefits which God and nature had bestowed upon the isle. We were prohibited by a foreign law from selling the wool that grew in our own country. This diabolical act, which deprived us of our trial by the juries of our own countries, went farther, and decreed that the subjects of Ireland though acquitted in their own country, might be carried by force to Britain, and there tried, condemned, and punished, for any breach of that act, and that their acquittal in Ireland should avail them nothing. Such was the state of commerce. What was the state of constitution? An almost total privation of the rights of men, bound by foreign laws, and obliged to apply to England in the dernier resource—our army governed by an English law, and a foreign state exercising the power of depriving of life and limb within this realm, soldiers maintained by us; but now Britain has learned wisdom in affliction's school, we are restored to the rights of a free people, and Ireland takes her station among the nations; our constitution is acknowledged, our commerce is unrestrained we enjoy in common with Britain every benefit of trading to the West-Indies, to Africa, and to her other settlements, which she has purchased with her blood and treasure, and which have not cost us one shilling; we enjoy all this under the protection of the English navy, to which we contribute nothing, (for alas! the navy of Ireland consists but of six revenue cruisers) and if we enjoy all this without expence, shall we grudge to support three thousand men, (*the number added by the augmentation*) for the safety of our mutual commerce? Is it generous? is it just?

In the last session of parliament, we told England that we were determined to stand or fall with her, *to share her constitution,*

and to share her fate; and as a proof of our sincerity, we voted 100,000l. and 20,000 men. We took for a little more than one day, the burthen from the shoulders of Atlas—for at that time England was under an expence of 70,000l. each day. What has since happened to justify our now withdrawing our assistance? Nothing! On the contrary, the conduct of Britain has been such as must unite us in the bands of friendship for ever.

Mr. *Molyneux*.—I think myself called upon to support this motion, as I myself have made one of a similar tendency; and I hope that my inexperience will not hurt the cause. I have heard with wonder, what has fallen from the Right Hon. Gentleman, whose fame has spread to every part of this kingdom. The perpetual theme of his declamation was heretofore *retrenchment, equalize your expences to your means—cut down your establishments*, were his words; and now he comes forth the champion to maintain the military augmentation. I can forgive him for not using in his speech any argument that could be used. He has indeed addressed our passions, but whatever we feel for Great Britain, I hope we shall feel for Ireland also; and if the Right Hon. Gentleman feels thus, let him prove that his declarations were not mere words of course; let him by assisting to retrench the military expence, prove that they were the honest effusions of his heart.

But I will never allow that we are under such great and mighty obligations to England. What is it we owe her? Is it the rights and privileges of men?—These were obtained, not from her benevolence, but through the vigorous exertions of this country—nor will I, while I can stand, allow that we are obliged for them to any thing but the glorious spirit of liberty which animates our people.—Are we indebted to England for trade? She gave us liberty to trade with her colonies when she had lost America, and to her settlements in Africa, when they were in the same situation.—She pretended to give us a trade, when she had not any to give. As to the West India trade, it is ruinous to this country. The London merchants have monopolized that; and we lose 24,000l. a year trading to the English West India islands, though we were foolish enough to exclude ourselves from trading to those of other nations, as a grateful return of the favour bestowed upon us by England. As to a standing army, I know of but two reasons for supporting one, internal safety, or external security. Ireland never was in a more tranquil situation internally; and I have not heard of any enemies abroad.—Yet formerly when the white boys and hearts of steel were committing their depredations, or when a few ragged half starved Frenchmen insulted our coasts, was it the army that assisted us? No, it was the spirited exertions of our people; and if the army in the time of danger, could neither support us at home or abroad, why should we maintain them now in time of profound security? When this island, in the

height of the most universal and ruinous war that ever Britain experienced, was left trusting to 5,000 men, when the last remaining fleet was put upon the hazard, was it the army that gave us confidence and security?—No, it was the virtuous exertions of our brave citizens; they defended their country without hire or payment—they have now a particular claim to reward; and in this very line, they do demand it, they request you will bestow a favour on their country, by easing her of unnecessary expence. If ministers mean fairly, they will agree to this resolution, and by acting honestly, the House may shew that there is no occasion for parliamentary reform.

Sir *John Blaquiere* spoke against the motion; he gave a history of the king of Prussia's regulations; but he admitted that a less number of officers were made to answer than in our army.

Mr. *Brown*, of the College, said that great confidence had been reposed in the present administration, and much was expected from their economical disposition, but nothing had been as yet effected by it. He therefore adjured them to let this motion pass.

Mr. *Ogle* said, he opposed the motion, as being not only premature, but unnecessary. The reduction of the army, he said, is at this conjuncture peculiarly improper; the tempest of war rages in the North between Russia and the Porte, France is expected to join, and England cannot stand neuter.

He said, I confess a gratitude to England—we have said, we would stand or fall with her. Her debt is two hundred and thirty-two millions, and her credit sinking; is it now a time for us to say we cannot support so small a portion of troops for the defence of the empire?

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* said—if he had offered to the House the address which had been moved by his Honourable Friend—if three days before the House of Commons were to enter into an enquiry, and make a decision on a subject which it was their boast to have recently restored, and their exclusive determination; that is to say, the number of men they think proper to vote for the ensuing year—if he were by such an address to anticipate your judgment, to relinquish your privilege, and once more throw this power into the ocean of *prerogative*—he should be fearful that his Honourable Friend would accuse him with having forgotten those principles of constitutional liberty, which in early years they had studied together. Though the character and authority of the Honourable Gentleman, must protect him from such a suspicion, yet the implication would lie strongly against the House of Commons if they were to agree to this address.—As to the object of this address—“The reduction of your expences by the reduction of your army,” I concur with those gentlemen who have gone before me, in thinking the discussion unreasonable until you

have examined your public accounts; from whence alone you can judge; by a comparison of your expences and revenues; of the necessity or the means of public retrenchment.—Oeconomy is a doctrine eligible and applicable to every nation, and every time; to every state, and every condition amongst men: But that; like every thing else, is a relative term; and whilst that is attended to, other great duties are not to be forgotten.—My Honourable Friend, with a largeness of mind that distinguishes all his efforts; lays his hand at once on the army, as the fruitful source of retrenchment. I admit it is so; but in making that a sacrifice to oeconomy, we should sacrifice an higher duty—you would draw your accustomed aid from your sister country; at the very moment in which she is extending to you every instance of justice and affection—You would refuse your usual contribution to the empire, at the very moment in which you have acquired a valuable interest in her preservation. Beside retrenchment, other concerns must fill our mind—National character and national honour are not to be forgotten.

When we asked for commerce in 1779, the words of our address were these, “We lament that the limited state of our trade and commerce must, by narrowing our resources, set bounds to our liberality.”—How can you reconcile this address to the other? How can you reconcile this language of acknowledgment, with that language of solicitation?—The addresses would indeed be conformable to each other, if your first address to his Majesty had said, “Remove those restrictions that oppress, and we will set bounds to our liberality—we will diminish our supplies—we will disband our army—open to us every source of prosperity that England has acquired by the blood of her inhabitants and the expenditure of millions, and we will contribute less than ever to the common cause.”—No! These were not our sentiments when we asked—they will not be our sentiments now we have obtained our rights. He stated the history of the augmentation of 1769, and the motives that induced it—not merely for our own defence; but even then avowedly to make a contribution to the support of the whole empire. He asked what had happened since to induce us to withdraw a contribution continued so many years?

He drew a parallel between the different conditions of the times:—We had not then a communication of commerce and constitution.—We were not then a people enjoying perfect liberty, and commencing unlimited commerce.—Though there were then bonds of connection between us, there were likewise causes of jealousy.—We had not then so great an interest in the empire.

He concluded with saying, he would follow the sense of the parliament of 1769, strengthened by a thousand new incentives, in the idea of bearing this small part in support of the whole empire; and that we never should be credited in our assertions of

regard to the common cause, if under our present circumstances, we were to retract a contribution we afforded in times and conditions so very dissimilar.

Right Honourable *Luke Gardiner* said, No man has a juster sense of gratitude than I, 15,000 men or double the number, I would afford Great Britain, if it was in our power so to do; but from the papers on your table, the alarming truth appears, that your military establishment alone exceeds your revenue.—In the two last years you had not more than 5000 men, and yet what a prodigious exceeding do we find! Since we could not afford 5000, must we load ourselves with 15,000, though on the smaller number our revenue falls short of our expence 250,000/. If the case is otherwise, I am satisfied that we maintain the larger number.

I wish well to Great Britain, but will not promise impossibilities. Must we again go begging to England for money to pay an army? In short, let administration shew me any possible scheme of supporting such an establishment, and I shall gladly acquiesce.

The Right Honourable *Henry Theophilus Clements*.—The motion I conceive wholly premature, as we are verging on the committee of supply, where such a measure only should be taken up.

I acknowledge the keeping of so large a body of forces in the kingdom will be attended with additional expence, but then, I am happy it is in my power to shew you that the revenues of this country will next year be adequate to the expenditure; for it appears from the accounts delivered in, that our revenue has increased in the last two years 314,000/. more than the two preceding ones.

Mr. Greene went over the same ground as those who had before spoken against the motion.

The *Provoost*.—Whatever gentlemen may think on this occasion, I am clearly of opinion, such an address as that proposed, very unbecoming at this time. The reduction of our army could at no time be so improper as now.—What shall we say to England? We refuse you this day, when you have made us free, what we granted you when you held us in fetters; nay, when they galled us most.

When the committee of accounts have made their report, then, if proper at any time, you may proceed on such a measure.

Right Honourable *Luke Gariner*.—When we granted 5000 to Great Britain, she was in a manner at war with all Europe; but of what use is our keeping an army for her now? it is an empty service.

An Honourable Gentleman has mentioned, that our revenue has increased 300,000/. but what signifies that increase or double that sum, if our exceedings keep more than pace with it? we are still as bad as ever.

Sir Henry Cavendish.—I would ask a question of the Right Honourable Secretary. Are we at peace, or are we at war? Is there any account received of an armament preparing in France to land in this kingdom, or in Great Britain?—If not, we are then in peace. We hear, indeed, of retrenchments intended by government; but if the minister will not specify them to us, I believe they intend none.

The Recorder.—I feel the peculiar delicacy of my situation, as the delegate of virtuous men, and as the representative of the first city in the kingdom, where possibly, at times a standing army has afforded a theme of jealousy; but I think every member ought to deliver his sentiments free and undisguised.

Justum et tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor, prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida.

Oeconomy, I think, is indeed absolutely necessary, and when it can be obtained by fair and honourable means, it is a consummation devoutly to be wished. There was a time when I would not have wished to maintain a single soldier, because then his implicit obedience was paid to an English law, but now I profess myself a friend to the army; they are regulated by a law of Ireland, and I must say, that my judicial situation has given me frequent opportunities of seeing in general, that body of men amenable to the laws. I have often remarked, that whenever the military are mentioned, the volunteers are contrasted to them. As to the volunteers of Ireland, I hold them in the greatest respect and reverence, and I am bold to say, they never had a more faithful friend than I am. A former parliament was incensed at some improper conduct, I undertook and happily accomplished a reconciliation. I know the volunteers have shewn the highest merit in obtaining the rights and constitution of their country, and I trust they will always manifest equal merit in preserving them—but is the detail of garrison duty and military service to be for ever thrown upon the volunteers? Are their labours to be incessant, and agriculture, the loom, and the shuttle to remain neglected? No, let the volunteers have rest, and return to their occupations; they have used their arms in their country's service, and I have no doubt but they will keep them bright and in readiness to support the law and constitution of their country when attacked.—The present army establishment is not encreased, it is just the same as before the last war, and in justice, as well as gratitude, we cannot proceed to the immediate reduction of the army; besides, the military should be now retained as a *posse comitatus*, to assist and be subordinate to the civil magistrate in enforcing the due execution of the laws of the land.

Mr. *Bushe* said, will you hear England exclaim, O you who have obtained a mutiny bill of your own, will you throw off the army you have taken out of our hands? Will you refuse to defend the colonies we have given you the trade of? Will you refuse your quota for the general service?

Mr. *Corry* said he was decidedly for the address. He asked, would any gentleman say that peace is not a season for military reduction, at a time when the situation of the country calls for economy?—Gentlemen had spoken of reduction in the civil establishment, and seemed to say by their arguments, exactly the reverse of what in his opinion was fitting, since he thought that at a time when the country was pressed with the expence of a war, it was fit to attempt civil reduction, and that when the blessings of peace were restored, was the time to make reduction in the military.

Mr. *Hartley*.—Whenever it has been urged in argument against Ireland, that as she contributed nothing towards the support of the British navy, and therefore she ought to participate in the trade of Britain, I have always answered, that though we do not maintain a navy, we support an army in the common cause. Was I to vote this night for a reduction of the army, I should thereby vote against my opinion in favour of Ireland's right to trade to British colonies. The trade of this kingdom is to be protected by a British navy, and we in return, ought to support our peace establishment; besides I expect that when the equalizing duties come on, ministers will remember this vote, and not by destroying the effects of a free trade, prove that I was wrong to give it.

Mr. *Browne*, of Trinity College, said, he was no party-man, yet declared himself obliged a second time at this early period of the session, to oppose an administration, which was such a determined foe to economy. An administration which not only was about to reject the single plan of retrenchment, which could be effectual, but had lately denied the necessity of any retrenchment at all.—He proved that retrenchment was absolutely necessary, by stating the formidable amount of the national debt, and shewed that as our expenditure exceeded our income by 200,000*l.* per annum, the debt must perpetually increase, as we must borrow that sum every year. The example of England shewed the horrid consequences of an increasing debt, and the present was the best time for us to stifle the monster in its very infancy. He asked, why ministers, instead of abusing our common sense, by asking men to wait for committees of accounts, and committees of supply, to prove what every body knew, did not think of forming a sinking fund? They could not do this, until they brought our expences below our income, and if they could do so, so as to save even the small sum of 20,000*l.* per annum, even that in less than fifty years would pay off the debt, if the interest saved by the sums paid off,

was perpetually applied to the discharge of the remaining part of the principal.

He proceeded to shew that retrenchment could be had only in the army establishment; he declared himself an enemy to standing armies; but if they must be, wished at least for a reduction. But here he was very brief, as the Right Honourable Gentleman who made the motion, he said, had anticipated him, and though he might enjoy his path, he could not presume to approach it.

Mr. Pelham said—Sir, I have been called upon by a Right Honourable Baronet, and I feel it my duty to say a few words in reply: if this, Sir, was the first day of the supply, I should think myself culpable if I was not ready to debate the present question; but as it seems the general opinion that it is now premature, I shall not enter minutely into it, particularly as it has been debated in a manner so favourable and so honourable to administration; it is not my practice, nor that of the ministers with whom I have the honour to act, to make mighty promises;—I rather hope by my actions to gain the approbation of this House; but when the provisions for the future year come to be made, and the army establishment to be examined, I hope to shew that I have not been inattentive, and that successful attempts have been made towards reducing much of the military expences, and in laying the state of the establishments before the House in a more satisfactory, clear, and explicit manner than ever had been done formerly.

Mr. Parsons.—Gentlemen will now see, since such a measure as the one before you is eluded, when a war is so improbable, that they have nothing to expect, when for a contingent necessity in England we neglect making so necessary a reduction. It was always in our power to reduce our civil establishment, but it is now only we can retrench our military, except we intend this kingdom merely as a barrack to England.

Your debt, it is true, is now only two millions, but in twenty years more it will be ten millions, the very interest of which will be equal to your whole revenue.

Our expences must be reduced on a great scale, no little nibbling of petty offices of state can relieve our exhausted finances.

Mr. Doyle said that he felt the address to be at the present time and in the present state of the country as ungrateful as it was unnecessary.

Mr. Henry Flood.—I am concerned to rise again at so late an hour, but in my opinion, all that has been objected to my motion is foreign to the argument. I am told it is too late, it is premature, it will not be too late on Wednesday to bring it forward. What, I pray you, has the committee of supply to do with a question of economy? I do not mean to curtail or shorten your

supply, but want to render your means sufficient for the supply. You have been told that it was an English parliament that fixed your establishment at 12,000 men, and no more, that army in King William's reign was thought sufficient, but a greater number might have endangered the liberties of England. 12,000 men were sufficient to oppose King James, the lawful King of Ireland, who had not only a large party in the kingdom bound by their allegiance, but a much larger number, almost the whole kingdom on his side, from religious principles. A large army was then necessary, but not at this time, when you have taken the catholics to your arms, when you are all on one side; and is it because the occasion of having 12,000 men has ceased, that you must have 15,000? Arguments founded on such propositions are balderdash, unfit for a national assembly. This silly talk of gratitude to England; I have heard the same in this house when you were bending under her yoke. We hear every session of ministerial virtues; curse on such virtues that undo the country!

A gentleman says we cheerfully made the augmentation; it passed by a majority, but have majorities been always in the right?

Shall we, if we have a real affection for England, exhaust ourselves without occasion in such a manner as to be unable to assist her when there is?

We are to have wars, and rumours of wars; one gentleman tells us the tempest of war rages at the north pole; the Crimea is in arms, and the Black Sea is hostile. England is not going to war; if it was the case, it must now be a maritime war, for she has no American provinces to conquer; but the calamitous condition of Britain will prevent a war though she desired it.

We have heard from our late administrations of œconomy, but all we have seen of that œconomy is the offices of an attorney and solicitor general to the Queen.

The retrenchment of the military establishment we are told is the last that must be effected, because the only one efficient. Every thing is too late or too early. We are told of the distress of England, and we are plunging in the same ruin. If we fall into the distress we were some time since in, shall we go to England for relief; where a minister amidst the ruin of his country stands aghast, but talks big? Shall we inherit ruin at home and reproach abroad?

The Volunteers who have saved the land, ardently call on you for œconomy and reform; if therefore by a direliction of your duty, you stimulate them to innovations, blame yourselves; do your duty, and they will be quiet.

The people stood at your back when you demanded your rights, now stand at theirs. You have a number of young men among you, and it may be expected the old leaven will not be so prevalent.

Let me not hear precedents adduced from times when you had no liberty, nor of a parliament trepanned into an augmentation.

I shall now leave my motion among you; let facts, but not speculation direct you, and you will find no other practicable retrenchment.

Mr. Grattan.—I rise, Sir, to speak on this subject, which has been frequently before the House already. The question is, will you withdraw from the common cause, that quota of troops which hitherto you have maintained? Are the circumstances of the country such as you think demand it, and if you are crazy enough to think so, will his majesty assent to that opinion?—There never was a time when he could make reduction with a worse grace, because this country is now as eminently happy in trade, as Britain is the reverse.

In 1769, England possessed, almost unrivalled, the trade of all the world.—She possessed America, and owed one hundred and fifty millions less than she owes at present. Ireland had no trade at all, and her constitution was denied; yet at that day it was thought wise to augment the army; and shall we reduce it now when we have obtained a free constitution—a free trade—when we have obtained a judges bill—a limited mutiny bill—an habeas corpus bill—when every thing that we have demanded, has been conceded? Shall we in that moment withdraw our quota of troops? Before she obtained those advantages, we said to Britain, that provided we would acknowledge our constitutional and commercial rights, we would stand or fall with her. And when they have been acknowledged to the full satisfaction of every man, it is proposed to withdraw the support of our army. Suppose instead of saying we will stand or fall with Britain, we had said, “and “when those things shall be done, (*when our rights shall be acknowledged and established*) we will then in return, withdraw “from you the support of our army;”—and yet in effect, this is the proposal at present made. I do not entirely agree in all that has been said of gratitude; we owe no gratitude but for the plantation trade, but this we owe to England, and to our own honour, *that we should not depart from an old covenant*. The navy of England protects our trade, and we, as an equivalent, pay 70,000l. a year to maintain the troops destined to serve in the plantations. This is not a dear purchase for partaking that which has cost England so many millions. Has success made us niggardly, and shall we become unkind to England, just at the moment she has shewn kindness to us? We have indeed held out the language of magnanimity to England, and shall we fail in the performance?—no, there are many other places to make retrenchment; we grant a pension list of 80,000l. a year, yet complain of 70,000l. paid to an army—paid for the protection of the British navy. We may

indeed make very great reductions in the army extraordinaries. We may make great reductions in the revenue department, and in others. Those reductions will, I trust, far exceed the pay of our augmentation. These are retrenchments that ought to be made—but the number of our forces ought not to be diminished.

Mr. Conolly.—I am against a reduction of the army. The augmentation was my child, and I hope to see it go on and prosper.

The question was then put, when there appeared,

Ayes	—	—	58
Noes	—	—	132

Majority against the question

74

Tellers for the ayes, Mr. *Molyneux* and the Hon. *Denis Browne*.

Tellers for the noes, Sir *H. Langrishe* and Mr. *O'Hara*.

Adjourned to Wednesday.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1783.

The committee of accounts sat, (Mr. *Mason* in the chair) for some time, and adjourned. After which the *Speaker* having taken the chair,

Lord *Kilwarlin* presented a petition from the inhabitants of the town of Belfast.

Colonel *Ross*, Sir *Edward Newenham*, Mr. *Montgomery*, and several other members, presented petitions, praying parliamentary aid, which were received, read and committed.

Several reports were received, and ordered to lie on the table.

The proper officer presented at the bar an account of the beer and ale brewed for some years past. Ordered to lie on the table.

Sir *Edward Newenham* moved to discharge the order on the petition, complaining of an undue election for the borough of Kilmallock, and to appoint the 4th day of February for hearing the same.

Ordered accordingly.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* moved that several persons, burgesses and petitioners of said borough, should be ordered to attend the House, on Monday the 2d of February.

The defaulters who were absent at the call of the House, on Monday last, previous to the ballot for a committee, for trying the merits of the Dundalk election, were called over this day; some of whom, on shewing proper causes, on oath, were not cen-

fured; the remainder, to a great number, were committed to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms.

After which the House being called, and the members told by Mr. *Stratford*, the doors were locked, and the committee ballotted for, to enquire into the merits of the petitions against one of the sitting members for the borough of Enniscorthy, when the following members were chosen:

H. Meade Ogle, Esq;	Right Hon. Barry Yelverton,
Sir Thomas Osborne, Bart.	Edward Tighe, Esq.
Arthur Dawson, Esq;	John Forbes, Esq.
Peter Holmes, Esq;	Lord Edward Fitzgerald;
Conway R. Dobbs, Esq;	Arthur Browne, Esq;
Charles Ruxton, Esq;	Denis Bowes Daly, Esq;
Sir Richard Butler, Bart.	Charles O'Hara, Esq;
Henry Loftus, Esq;	

Ordered to sit to-morrow.

Ordered a writ for the borough of Ballinakill, in the room of Sir Annesley Stewart, Bart. who has made his election for the borough of Charlemont.

Sir *Edward Newenham* moved to discharge the order, on the petition complaining of an undue election for the borough of Swords, and to defer it to a future day, for the convenience of the petitioners, as one of their principal witnesses was in England. The question was put, and there appeared

For the motion.—Ayes	—	3
Against the motion.—Noes	—	47

Tellers for the Ayes, Sir *Henry Cavendish*, and Sir *Edward Newenham*.

Tellers for the Noes, Lord *Delvin*, and Mr. *Beresford*, jun.
Adjourned 'till to-morrow.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1783.

The call of defaulters was this day continued, and such as did not appear, or for the non-attendance of whom proper excuses were not given, were ordered into custody of the Serjeant at Arms.

The order of the day for trying the petition of Robert Stewart, Esq; complaining of an undue election for the county of Down, the House was called over, the names were drawn, and a select committee nominated in the usual manner; the names of the committee were,

Henry Prittie, Esq;
 Charles-Henry Coote, Esq;
 Thomas Blakeney, Esq;
 Lord Delvin,
 Sir Thomas Fetherston,
 Rogerfon Cotter, Esq;
 Robert Jephson, Esq;
 Captain Thomas Loftus,

Honourable William Skeffington,
 Henry Alcock, Esq;
 Arthur Acheson, Esq;
 William Pennefather, Esq;
 Abel Ram, Esq;
 Sir Cornwallis Maude,
 Denham Jephson, Esq,

While the parties were nominating the committee, the order relative to the producing of the lists of persons objected to as voted on controverted elections within a limited time, was discharged, and another order, after some conversation, substituted in its stead.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* moved, "That members who are disqualified in any manner from serving on committees on controverted elections, be dispensed attending the House at five o'clock on the days appointed to try the elections." Passed in the affirmative.

Mr. *Alexander Montgomery* moved a resolution, "That in all controverted elections, to be brought before the House, the petitioners, by themselves or agents, should deliver to the sitting members, petitioned against, a list of the persons whose votes they objected to, and their reasons for objecting, four days at least before the day appointed for hearing the merits of the petition; and that the sitting members, or their agents, do the like to the petitioners, or their agents."

Mr. *Foster* said, he had moved the former resolution, relative to this matter. He observed the material difference was, the adding the objection; that he had drawn the resolution in the very words of the English house.

Mr. *Montgomery*, (of Cavan) said its being from England could not be a sufficient reason for embracing it, as it stood; he therefore would move the former resolution should be rescinded, and the one now moved by the Honourable Member adopted in its room.

Mr. *Foster* observed that the committees which were ordered to be appointed on Saturday and Monday next, could not possibly comply with the resolution, and ought to be excepted therein.

He therefore moved a small amendment, purporting the resolution to operate on all petitions to be heard after Tuesday next. This being agreed to, the former resolution was rescinded, and Mr. *Montgomery's* of this day adopted.

Lord *Delvin* moved, "That the clerks of the House do in future give notice to all agents, concerned in contested elections to be heard before committees, that they are to serve lists, &c. in due time, according to the above resolution; and that such agents as do not obey, be liable to the censure of the House.

The proper officer presented at the bar of the House an estimate of effective men in the kingdom, in November, 1782, pursuant to an order made a few days ago.

The proper officer presented at the bar, several estimates of different accounts, pursuant to former orders.

Many reports from different committees were received and ordered to lie on the table.

A great number of petitions were presented by Mr. *Ogle*, the Right Hon. *John O'Neil*, the *Provost*, Mr. *Mason*, Mr. *Beresford*, Sir *Frederick Flood*, Sir *Henry Hartstonge* and other members, praying aid from parliament for many manufactures in different places; and in behalf of the clerks of the House, committee clerks, and the several door-keepers.

The Right Honourable *Thomas Conolly* presented a petition from a number of noblemen and gentlemen of Great Britain and Ireland, setting forth the necessity of repairing the roads from Holyhead through Anglesea and Carnarvonshire, being the common communication between both kingdoms.

This petition, with all the others, was referred to committees.

Sir *Frederick Flood* moved an enquiry into the expenditure of the sum of three thousand pounds, granted by parliament to the trustees of St. Patrick's hospital.

Sir *Edward Newenham* said, the precarious state of his health, the illness of an Honourable Member who intended to take an active and decided part in the reform bill, and the number of election committees that crowded so fast on each other, induced him to postpone moving for leave to bring in a bill for the representation of the people—that it never was his intention to lay the bill before the House, until a fixed mode of reform had been generally adopted—that he had moved that question in a former parliament, and renewed it now to preserve his priority in introducing the bill. He promised he would give eight or ten days notice.

Adjourned until to-morrow.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1783.

The *Speaker* ordered the defaulters of yesterday to be called over, after which Mr. *Bourke* moved, that the members in custody of the Serjeant at Arms, should be discharged without paying fees, which being overruled, the *Speaker* put the question on each particular name, when many were discharged paying fees, and many without paying. When the name of *Hayes St. Leger*

was called, the House divided on his being discharged, and there appeared for the discharge,

Ayes,	—	—	—	27
Noes,	—	—	—	89

Mr. *Ogle*, as chairman of the Dundalk committee, acquainted the House, that in obedience to a summons issued by him, one Green had attended to give evidence, but was arrested on the steps of the Parliament House, by Garret Plunket, a bailiff, at the suit of Robert Small, of Prussia-street; that he produced the summons, and after some time the bailiff enlarged him, but that Small had been very angry, and declared he would make the bailiff pay the debt. Ordered, that Garret Plunket, and Robert Small do attend at the bar of the House to-morrow morning.

Mr. *Foster* said, that at a time when so much public money was petitioned for, he was sure nothing would be more agreeable to gentlemen than to be satisfied, that the money granted should be faithfully applied; he would therefore move that no money be made payable for carrying on any canal, pier or building, until such money as might have been formerly granted be accounted for upon oath, before the commissioners of imprest duties, and where the work has not been begun, until a proper plan and estimate be delivered in, and security given for the faithful execution thereof, by recognizance to be taken before the barons of the exchequer, and within a time mentioned in said recognizance.

He said such a resolution as this was absolutely necessary, in order to prevent the frauds which had, he feared, been hitherto practised; but gentlemen would observe, this resolution extended no further than grants for building; it did not extend to those that should be given for the encouragement of our manufactures, and, indeed, when it was considered how numerous the applications had been on that head, and the vast sums which were required, he feared, such was the present state of the nation, it would be impossible to comply with them all, supposing them to be all meritorious; he had however a thought which he believed would answer the ends of all, and that was to give a bounty upon the exportation of those manufactures: every man would then get a just proportion according to the extensiveness of the branch. There was one gentleman, however, whom he could not consider in the same predicament with the other persons applying; it was Capt. Brooke, who stood peculiarly circumstanced, and had been induced to expend vast sums on national accounts; first, in bringing over many artists who had determined to leave England and proceed to America; and secondly, in building houses, and fitting up convenient receptions for the distressed weavers of Dublin; he meant, therefore, that he should obtain some grant, but that all the rest

should be left to enjoy the bounty, which he believed might be about eight per cent.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* begged the postponing of the business till to-morrow, that it might be considered of.

Sir *Henry Hartstonge* requested it might be deferred till Tuesday next.

Sir *John Blaquiere* thought, as many members were not present, it would be right to defer it till to-morrow, which Mr. *Foster* agreed to; after which he observed so many petitions had been preferred, that it would be impossible to grant large sums to all; he said he thought it best to grant a bounty to such as appeared deserving, particularly for exporting woollen and cotton goods, wrought iron, &c. &c. save to Captain *Brooke*, who, he said, ought not to be classed with the rest.

General *Luttrell*.—Is any particular exception from the common method intended for encouraging manufactures, to be made in favour of Captain *Brooke*?

Mr. *Foster*.—A particular attention is proposed to be paid to him.

General *Luttrell* said, he would not take up the time of the House in pronouncing a panegyrick upon a man, that he believed deserved reward as well as Captain *Brooke*—because, was every gentleman to get up and bestow encomiums on those he patronized—the House would have nothing to do but listen to fine speeches; but in his opinion, every man ought either to stand upon the ground of his own particular merit, or equal encouragement should be dealt to all.

Sir *John Blaquiere* desired to know what encouragement was intended for the home consumption of our manufactures. To which Mr. *Foster* said, that it would be a point of infinite difficulty to decide, as any bounty on home consumption would be liable to great and innumerable frauds.

Mr. *Brownlow* approved of encouraging the manufactures, by a bounty on export, but thought it would be wrong to make any exception in favour of Captain *Brooke*, notwithstanding his acknowledged merit; because the most extensive manufacturer would receive most benefit from the bounty on exportation of goods manufactured.

The *Provost* thought no distinction should be made or preference given.

Mr. *Foster* brought up several reports from Committees. Ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. *Mason* brought up the general report from the committee of accounts.

Mr. *John Latouche* said, that the money due by dismissed collectors, amounted to such an enormous sum, that in his opinion, parliament was loudly called upon to make enquiry into it; he would therefore move, “that the proper officer should lay before

the House, an account of all sums of money due by dismissed collectors, specifying the security given by each, and stating what steps had been taken to recover the debts.

Mr. *Mason* said, that a return of all deficiencies by collectors, down to May last, had been made, and now lay upon the table.

Mr. *Latouche* replied, that the return did not go to the whole of his motion, which enquired as well after the security given by the dismissed collectors, as the steps that had been taken to recover the debts.

Sir *John Parnel* said, that the board of commissioners, in obedience to an order of government, had made out a list of all the debts due by dismissed collectors, down to the month of May last. That the proper law officers were immediately employed to recover those debts; and he doubted not, they were pursuing the most vigorous means.

Mr. Solicitor *Carleton* assured the House, that the proper law officers were assiduously attentive to this object, which he considered as of great national importance.

Mr. *Latouche's* motion passed *nem. con.*

Sir *H. Cavendish* moved, that Mr. Bolton have leave to withdraw the petition, complaining of an undue election for the borough of Swords.—Leave given.

Mr. *Denis Browne* moved, that the proper officer do lay before the House an account of the number of troops that were in the kingdom on the first day of this month; also an account of the names and number of staff-officers in the kingdom, with the amount of their pay.

Mr. *Foster* moved, that the House do resolve itself into a committee, on Monday next, for taking into consideration the supply to be granted to his Majesty.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* requested it to be delayed till Tuesday next. Ordered for Monday.

After leave was granted for committees on private business to sit to-morrow, the House adjourned till Monday next.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1783.

The House balloted for a committee to try the merits of the Baltinglass election, the following gentlemen were named.

Sir John Parnel,
Stephen Moore, Esq;
Mr. Richardson,
Hon. Wm. Moore,
Sir Hugh Hill, Bart.
Dudley Hussey, Esq;
James Alexander, Esq;
John Latouche, Esq;

Dan. Toler, Esq;
Wm. Richardson, Esq;
J. Monk Mason, Esq;
Owen Wynne, Esq;
John Doyle, Esq;
T. J. Fortescue, Esq;
T. Piggott, Esq;

General *Luttrell* observed, that a motion had been made by an Honourable Gentleman some days ago, that the proper officer should lay before the House an account of the precise time when his Majesty's order to discontinue the recruiting service in this kingdom had issued; to comply with this motion the General said was matter of impossibility to the officer; he could indeed inform the House and the honourable mover, that the order from the Commander in Chief was dated the 3d of February, 1783, but at what time the Commander in Chief received his order from the Lord Lieutenant he did not know, much less what time the Lord Lieutenant had received his Majesty's commands for that purpose, or indeed whether his Excellency had received any commands at all, for he would have it understood, that the chief governor of this kingdom in many instances, exercises a discretionary authority, and does not always wait for directions from England; however as he supposed the Honourable Gentleman's inquiry would be satisfied by this information, that on the 3d of February orders had issued to discontinue the recruiting, he was happy to give it to him; if he wished to go to the source of those orders it must be by way of address to his Majesty, but if this information was satisfactory, he would move that the order should be discharged.

Hon. Mr. *Browne*, who had moved the order, declared, that provided the information was laid before the House, it was indifferent to him whether it was obtained through the medium of an address, or in compliance with an order.

Mr. *Flood* said he would not have it understood that such information could only be gained by an address—a simple order of the House he held sufficient—there were upon the journals instances innumerable of both methods.

Mr. *Corry* said, that he was of the same opinion, and he felt himself authorized to say so, for that he had examined the journals last session, with particular care, on this very question, and found that orders of the house and addresses had been used indiscriminately, and that he would think it an infringement on the privileges of the House if they were to be restricted to the mode by address.

Sir *H. Langrishe* said, that where it was possible for an officer to comply with an order, that mode was practised; but as to any thing beyond the power of an officer, it must be obtained by address.

General *Luttrell*.—I cannot remain one moment silent under the imputation of restraint, of any privilege of this house, no man in the House would be farther from it; but the object of the order is absolutely impracticable, for the Lord Lieutenant (Lord Temple) to whom his majesty's orders were sent, (if any orders were sent at all) is now in another kingdom, and sure the Hon. Gentle-

man does not mean to send a mandate to him to lay open any correspondence that existed between his sovereign and him.

Hon. Mr. *Browne* declared himself unacquainted with the etiquette of parliament—said all he wanted was information—that the intention of his motion was to bring to light a fraud which he heard was practised,—“that the bounty voted by parliament for raising seamen, had been applied to recruit the fencible regiments, and that many of the men raised for the sea service had been incorporated into the fencible bands.”

Mr. *Brownlow* thought that the House must have authority to call upon the proper officer to give information in any question concerning national expence; that it must be a transaction known to many, and that it would be giving up the rights of the House if any alteration was made in the motion.

General *Luttrell* repeated, that he knew of no order but that which he had mentioned of the third of February, which stated, “that it was his express commands that the recruiting service should stop until further orders.”

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* said, that as a charge of a very deep die indeed had been made against government for misapplication of the public money, he hoped that charge would be followed by a close enquiry; and if it was ill-founded, that he hoped it would be retracted.

Mr. *Pelham* said, he rose with an intention to give the House every possible satisfaction in his power; and that whatever information remained in the offices upon this subject he was desirous to produce; and he earnestly besought gentlemen to prosecute the enquiry now begun, as he was convinced it would redound to the honour of government; and when even a former government, which had acted honourably, was attacked, he thought it his duty to rise in its defence.

Mr. *Mason* said, that in the committee of accounts he had just investigated this subject, and could say that of the 100,000l. voted for seamen, 56,000l. only had been expended, and 7000 men thereby raised: that the provincial troops had been raised by a sum of 16,000l. which was afterwards reimbursed by England.

Mr. *Flood* thought it extremely odd that an order coming to a Lord Lieutenant from England should not now be found in our offices, because that Lord Lieutenant was now no longer governor over this country. He asked was the Secretary's office destroyed, or was that also gone to England? This was a very unfortunate country indeed, if upon every change of Lord Lieutenants, a thing which now so frequently occurred, all the information of the country was to be lost.

Here the question subsided; General *Luttrell* did not push his motion, consequently the order made upon the motion of the Hon. Mr. *Browne* remains in force.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* said, that if we did not adopt a system of œconomy, the nation would become bankrupt, as its expences by far exceeded its income—moved, “That the condition of this kingdom requires every practicable retrenchment, consistent with the interest and safety thereof, and with the honour and dignity of his Majesty’s government.”

Mr. *Mason* seconded the motion.

Mr. *Attorney General* said, I have always professed myself a friend to œconomy, and I do now declare my hearty concurrence in the motion, to which I had no other objection when it was moved a few nights ago, but that it would come as it now does, with more propriety, after examining the national accounts, than before such examination had taken place.

The Speaker was then about to put the question, when

Mr. *Flood* said he had an amendment to propose; the motion, as it stood at present, was giving too great a latitude to administration—it was leaving them to pursue any measure they thought proper, they had only to say, that it was for the interest of the nation, or for the dignity of his Majesty’s government. Now one argument which had been made use of on a former night, was the inefficacy of such resolutions, and he perfectly agreed that they were totally inefficacious; he would therefore recommend a reduction of the military establishment as the only place where any real or serviceable reduction can take place. By reducing our military forces to 12,000 men, we should save 250,000*l.* per ann. or 500,000*l.* in two years; besides, by a saving which might be made with respect to the providing for the 12,000 men, a saving, as appeared by the report of a committee in the year 1762, might be made of 100,000*l.* this would be an effectual saving—Now look to the civil establishment; the whole amount thereof was only 70,000*l.* so that if you strike off your judges, your clerks, every officer under the crown, your whole saving can be no more than 70,000*l.* this every one knows is impossible to be done, therefore when gentlemen say, do not retrench your military establishment, but your civil list, they in effect say, do not retrench where retrenchments may be made, but retrench where retrenchment cannot be made; they propose the shadow, but I will pursue the substance, and it is for this purpose, that not boasting of my infirmities, but labouring under them, I came this night, at the hazard of my life, to propose what is essentially necessary for the salvation of my country. I wish to set her again upon her legs, and I have a double cause to endeavour this, because I at present feel the inconveniency of wanting my own; (Mr. *Flood* sat while he was speaking, being unable to stand) but gratitude is objected—I say, such an answer has one great fault—it is not argument—gratitude is a sentiment, and therefore it is no argument—it is a passion, a virtuous passion I allow, but is a nation to be governed

by her passion? no—men are sometimes governed by their passions, and it is well when they are ruled by good ones—but a nation is to be governed by reason—but giving gratitude its full weight on this occasion, what effect has it? Suppose a man under obligations to his friend, is he therefore bound in gratitude to vote with that friend for the ruin of his country? Is a man through gratitude to beggar himself, to starve his wife and family, to support, not the necessities, but perhaps the extravagancies, of his friend? Did gratitude ever bid a man ruin himself? no—and why? because gratitude is a virtue, and no virtue bids you do what is wrong—they are given us to happily by God and nature, that they perfectly agree, and gratitude being a virtue, cannot command you to support an army injurious to your country, because to do an injury to your country is a vice; I therefore, sir, move for the following amendment, “and that the military establishment, in particular, will admit of a considerable retrenchment, inasmuch as 12,000 men are at present sufficient, not only to maintain the defence of this kingdom, but also to afford Great Britain, for her service abroad, as many men as we granted to her by the augmentation; and inasmuch as many important savings may be made in the expence of maintaining that number of 12,000 men;” he observed, that certainly gratitude could not be objected to this motion, since we were not about to withdraw our aid from Great Britain, but to allow her as many men out of our 12,000 as we formerly did out of 15,000, and surely there was more generosity in giving three out of twelve, than three out of fifteen.

Hon. Mr. *D. Browne* asked where the retrenchment proposed would take place? not in the civil list he understood: he was certain, administration had no intention to retrench: if they had, the military establishment was the only place savings could be made: he gave his hearty concurrence to the motion.

General *Luttrell* said, that every trite and hackneyed observation had been made in the military establishment; it had been said that this country was a barrack for England; “this was only true, so as the troops here lived in barrack, that the staff of this country might take the field with great splendor, and to the terror of our enemies.” This was the common place story of a white bear, related by Chesterfield, who said, that the list of general officers being presented to the King, his Majesty observed, he could not tell what effect that list might have on the enemy, but it made him tremble. The general proceeded to say, that these delightful stories had been offered as arguments, and received with frequent acclamations of hear him! hear him! That besides they had been embellished with a stroke or two at the sagacity of Mr. Secretary *Heron*. As to the sage *Heron*, his sentiments of him were pretty much the same

other gentlemen professed to entertain, and exactly like those he felt for a noble Duke, the patron in England of the Hon. Gentleman who had moved the amendment; but he had this consolation, that if the wayward fate of Ireland should ever send that Noble Duke to be our Chief Governor, his want of intellect would be amply compensated by the abundant wisdom of the Hon. Gentleman, who would, as his Secretary, have full opportunity of displaying his great talents and patriot intentions to Ireland.

Mr. Flood thought it a hard case, that a man could not have a friend in any corner of the world that might escape censure, however undeserving of it, but must be coupled with him, and share the reproach of his infirmities. He thought it trifling in the Hon. Gentleman to allude to his waistcoat, and asked him, whether he had any objection to that which he then wore? (The uniform of the Goldsmiths Corps.)

General Luttrell said, he had no objection to that then worn by the Hon. Member, nor would he, had he known his attachment to his wardrobe, have mentioned the other; but he had done it with reverence and respect, and assured the Hon. Gentleman, that he had taken the opportunity of its absence to speak his sentiments; for, was it now displayed in its full splendor, he very much doubted whether he would have courage to speak at all. He concluded with observing, that as to the objection against soldiers being kept up in time of peace, that they were then most useful, as they served to prevent the necessity of fighting.

Mr. Molyneux said—I rise with infinite unwillingness and regret to speak upon this subject, convinced as I am, that if the arguments of that great man who has made the amendment will not prevail, nothing that I can urge will be of the smallest force: I rise, therefore, to supplicate the powerful side of the House, and to request as a favour, that attention to economy which the country gentlemen are warranted to demand as a right.—I will acknowledge the debt of gratitude to England, and I will pay it with liberality; the former act of parliament granted but 3000 men out of 15,000, now let ministers reduce the establishment to 12,000 men, and I will be content to spare to England half of that number; nay, if that shall not be thought sufficient, let his Majesty have power to withdraw them all from this kingdom, and I am the more willing to do this, because I wish there was an inducement to the armed societies of Ireland to remain in arms; is there any man who would not wish it? there was indeed one, who declared the other night, [Here Mr. Molyneux was called to order by the whole House] well, I will not speak of it, I will only suppose he wishes them like himself, to retire to *otium cum dignitate*.

But if my offer is refused, I will suppose that there is but one reason for it—it is intended by the army to overawe; [here again a loud cry of order] it may irritate, but it can never subdue. It has been said, that the voice of the people is in favour of the army establishment; if so, they must be a very foolish people indeed; for what people would wish to keep an army to the ruin of their finances, and to the danger of their liberties? I have professed myself a friend to administration, and it is the office of a friend to tell them wholesome, though disagreeable truths. The present ministry have succeeded to one, which attempted to cleanse this Augean stable; they had but time indeed to clean the threshold; but it behoves the present, by some bold effort, to gain the confidence of the nation; otherwise, though now only suspected, they will shortly be condemned.

Major *Doyle*—Mr. Speaker, little versed in the usage of parliaments, and totally unaccustomed to public speaking, I feel how much, Sir, I shall stand in need of your countenance, and the kind indulgence of the House; but I am also conscious, that the motives which induce me to trouble you, while they plead my excuse, will ensure to me a patient hearing. I rise, Sir, to assure the Honourable Member who introduced the question, that I most perfectly agree with him, as to the necessity of the strictest economy in the expenditure of the public money, though I differ with him as to the object and system of his economy. I am aware, Sir, how difficult it will be, to throw new light upon a subject already so fully discussed; but I trust I shall be able to shew, that the reduction of our present military establishment, would be an inexpedient, unwise, and an unjust measure.

I am free to admit, Sir, that peace is the proper season for reducing the military force of the empire, and a great reduction has in consequence taken place; but though this peace has removed to a greater distance the apprehension of danger, yet we should not suffer ourselves to be lulled to sleep under its shade, lest in that sleep we meet death.

The loss of our American possessions is adduced as an argument for a further reduction; but, Sir, having lost so much, what remains should, like the Sybil's books, be but the dearer to us.—Our West India islands, and the province of Canada, are now subject to the sudden irruptions of a new power; an empire which has sprung up from the misfortunes of Britain, and it is absolutely necessary to keep a strong force, not only in those places, but in Nova Scotia, (which if I may say so, is the key to one, and a watch tower to the other,) that if through any contingency, the peace should be broken, the defence of such valuable possessions may not rest upon the precarious fluctuation of winds and tides, and ministers. Ireland while controuled by Britain, did not re-

fuse to defend possessions in which she had then no interest, and will she, like Lear's ungracious daughters, become unkind the moment her parent has divided her all with her?—Will she disband her knights, when the weakness of Britain most requires her aid?

It has been said, that Ireland has an army of her own, which serves the state without expence.—I will say that the virtuous exertions of that patriotic band can only be equalled by their obedience to the laws, and regard to the constitution of their country. They may find many abler eulogists than I am, but none who more sincerely regards them.—I do not now think it necessary for them to remain in arms; I would say to the Lawyer's corps, the first and most respectable—you have exercised your knowledge of law and constitution to the advantage of your country; your wisdom and successful advice have greatly contributed to our complete emancipation.—Retire now to your honourable profession, and may your vigilance and attention to the sacred rules of justice, ever secure what your wisdom has acquired.

I would say to the Merchants corps—you have gained us a free trade, let it now be your care to extend and improve that trade, for the advantage of your country.—Perhaps could I go round the whole kingdom, I would find some particular merit for each particular corps; but I will say to them all in general, that as they have been a bulwark to their country in war, I trust that they will now be the authors of her prosperity and happiness, in time of peace.

The name of soldier and volunteer has been invidiously contrasted, as if in opposition to each other; but this I most positively deny: For was I not convinced, that the soldier's object was the protection of his country, and its constitution, I should disdain to be a soldier; and did I not believe the volunteers to have the same affections, I should regret that I was born an Irishman.

Mr. *Parsons* rose with some degree of warmth. He said, gentlemen seem to think, that because England supports a navy, Ireland is bound to maintain an army; that is, England is to keep up the constitutional defence of the state—Ireland, that which is not constitutional. The same arguments then, which are at present urged against reducing the army of Ireland after the late war, will be urged after every future war; and I repeat it again, this country will be a barrack for England. The Honourable Gentleman says he speaks the voice of the people—of what people? I speak the sentiments of a learned and respectable society, who are my constituents.—But who are his constituents? Are they literate or illiterate? Or has he any constituents at all?—But I am not surprised that the affairs of the nation should go so badly, when every little jester can find the way into parliament. I do not come here with awkward attempts to be witty, on the dress of the greatest man in the nation; it may do well enough for a cap and balls, but is unbecoming the dignity of the Irish senate.

Major *Doyle*.—The honourable and learned gentleman has called an army the bane of the constitution; I know that this sounds well in declamation, and has sounded well in round and well turned periods a thousand times. But will not the honourable and learned gentleman allow, that the revolution was owing to the army, that the restoration was owing to the army, and that there is no instance in which the British or Irish army has shewn any want of affection to their country's constitution?

The obedience of the army of these kingdoms may be compared to the solar system—moving on the axis of its own particular code, whilst it moves also on the axis of the general constitution.—Soldiers are restricted by a double code of laws, to which they have never failed in obedience—yet this army and these men, the honourable gentlemen in their rage for reformation wish to send entirely away from the kingdom.

Mr. *Arthur Browne*.—Sir, I do not rise to trouble you with long encomiums on oeconomy, I see plainly that oeconomy is banished from your doors, and it would be folly to expect, that the neglected stranger will ever return. We have nothing left but to look on in silent dismay, till the storm which profusion is gathering, shall burst upon our heads.

But, though destruction will inevitably spring from prodigality, it is still possible to divert its course. Let it at least approach us through some other medium than that of the army; a pestilential medium which has ever been fraught with plagues and mischief—I speak not of armies absolutely necessary to the good of the state; I speak of idle and superfluous armies; of unnecessary augmentations.—I know invectives against standing armies have been so often repeated, that they are become offensive to the fastidiousness of modern ears. But if the truth has not had its effect, it ought to be repeated, and now repeated when it is possible to carry it into practice, and not to terminate in mere declamation. It is not less true, because it has been often, nor would it have been often said if it had not been founded in reason and in nature, and at these solemn pauses, which the constitution has ordained in passing our laws. At these sacred stations which it will not suffer us to pass without looking around us, to see whether we approach the precipice, I hope it will be pardonable to stay a moment where we have staid before, and see whether the danger is less than it formerly has been.

Let us not deceive ourselves; if a superfluous unemployed army was ever dangerous, it is dangerous still. You have the augmentation now as fairly before you, as you had it in the year 1769; if you again agree to it, the army will go on increasing.—It will always be an object with the crown to encrease it, and there is no probability that the influence of the crown will ever diminish. The appearance of the times is fallacious.—

While the American storm raged, and the winds were all abroad, we had a temporary calm from the exertions of power at home; but things will revert to their old channel—It is the nature of power ever to wish to extend itself, and if you do not take this opportunity of curbing it, if you are not jealous of its advances now, you may never be able to impede its progress again.

In the midst of a profound peace, you introduce into the country a greater number of troops than were found necessary for its defence in the heat of contest, and that contest against the world in arms. When the territories of Britain are reduced, and her diminished orb shines with but half its former splendor, you support a greater army than was wanted to supply the lustre of her most brilliant day. When your finances are exhausted, and you are oppressed with a cumbrous debt, you maintain a greater peace establishment than when your treasury overflowed. When the spirit of the people is high, and virtue is at hand to assist you in pruning the luxuriance of power, you refuse to lop off that detested augmentation which was generated in the corrupted stream of former times.—It requires neither age, nor wisdom, nor experience to see that this is extraordinary. The people (for liberty is of a jealous nature) will not rest satisfied without knowing the cause. They will murmur at being obliged to contribute, not to the necessities of the state, but perhaps to its ruin. They will recollect that in all countries the excessive growth of armies has terminated without exception in the downfall of liberty, and at length of government itself. They will not rest satisfied with the flimsy pretexts which have been offered, nor be lulled with the soft unmeaning notes of gratitude: What gratitude! An Hon. Friend of mine has well exposed the name. He has shewn that it is not to the liberality of Britain, but to circumstances, to necessity, to your own virtue, to America, that you owe your advantages. To America your temple and statues are due, and to that generous patriotism which so ably seconded her at home. Britain was cruel and unjust for a century, and I will never believe that she learned justice and generosity in a day. It has been said, we at least owe her gratitude for opening the trade to the West Indian Colonies. I deny it—she tied our hands behind our back, and then boasted she had given us food. If she had suffered us, we too should have had colonies: While all Europe was colonising we should not have been idle; we should have had our West Indian and American settlements, and as it was, our blood and our treasure contributed to the acquisition and protection of the British colonies; but England alone reaped those crops which were sown in that blood, and now that they have almost perished, she boasts of having admitted us to some little participation of the blasted fruits.

Other gentlemen have talked of wars and rumours of wars, of wars in the south, and wars in the north, and chilled us with the terrors of an invasion from the frozen zone. They have talked of the Turks and the Tartars.—[Mr. Ogle rose to order.]—Mr. Browne proceeded.—If I have alluded to what passed in a former debate, I must say in excuse, that the order to the contrary has not been strictly observed by the House since I came into it. But supposing we are in danger of a war, it is not by our navy we are to protect ourselves; this is the first and favourite tenet of the present ministry of England. No force you could raise could cope with the armies of France. It might be formidable to liberty at home, but would be laughed at by the insolent foe. It might be formidable to scattered individuals falling one by one without union, and without strength, it might be dangerous to a trading nation, where every man poring on the ground does not look up at the encreasing blaze of power, till he is scorched by its rays; but it would never be a match for our foreign enemies. No, if you would really wish to be secure at home, preserve the country in its present state, encourage every man to bear arms, place an unbounded confidence in your people, and they will place an unlimited confidence in you. Imitate the generous policy of our ancestors, who, (you will find it on your statute book) in times of turbulence, when the minds of men were not yet civilized, nor taught to love order and good government, yet not only encouraged, but obliged every man to bear arms and to learn the use of them. Then with mutual confidence and universal discipline, you would be invincible indeed.

I have done with the reasons offered by government for this measure; I will now tell them the reasons which the public without doors assign for them. They say, that it is not through fear of a foreign enemy they wish to keep up so large an army, but through fear of their real friends at home. Not through fear of hostile invasion, but through fear of virtue, and liberty, and public spirit; through fear lest these repeated struggles of the people, should at length effectuate, in a constitutional way, a rational reform. Through fear, not of the armies of France, but, it is time to speak plainly, of the Volunteers of Ireland; of those Volunteers whom you so coldly thanked in the beginning for what *they had done*, that it was evident you wished they should do no more.—[Mr. Fitzgibbon rose to order.]—Mr. Browne in continuation.—I have a particular objection to the nature of this army, which is coming into the country, it is an American army fraught with slaughter, hostile to every idea of liberty, or rather unable to distinguish liberty from licentiousness.—[Major Doyle rose to order.]—You will have your four thousand men too, whom you sent abroad for their education, and a pretty

education they have had. They will return, not as from a foreign foe with glory and patriotic ardour sitting on their crests, but with disappointment, and revenge, and depredation painted on their faded banners.

Let the profusion take any other shape than this. Divide your revenue board again, you would but add six men to those who might possibly distinguish their own interest from those of their country. Augment your band of pensioners, the drones cannot sting us. The eve of our declining day may retain its lustre. We may set like the tropical sun at once in night, without that long and lingering twilight, in which we now seem doomed to wander. We might wear the fair face of liberty to the last, and appear majestic though in ruin.

Sir, I speak not of chimeras, or phantoms of my own brain; it is not more certain that empire hastens to decay, than that its ruin will be accelerated by a great national debt, and an increasing army; the calamity may not come to-day or to-morrow, it may not come upon the present generation, but it will come upon posterity, and the remedy will be out of their power. If there is any man mean enough to be regardless of the future generation, he may perhaps pass quietly through his own times. But this was not the care our ancestors took of us; they raised bulwarks sufficient to defend us, though almost virtue's self was dead. Every man who has a spark of heavenly flame about him will follow their example. You will never have such another opportunity. The spirit of your people will never be more high; the crown will never be more dependent on parliament; you will never have another American war, and if you are silent now, you may be silent for ever.

Major Doyle again arose. He called upon the protection, upon the humanity of the House, to prevent words which must rack the feelings of every soldier who considered himself as doing his duty in that unfortunate war—he hoped that men who loved their country as well as the Honourable Gentleman, would not be tortured with reproach for having faithfully served that country; and declared that if even British defeat in America was the cause of Irish liberation, that he rejoiced in that defeat.

General Luttrell.—I know well enough that though an army has in more than one instance preserved the constitution, yet there are certain men, who from prejudice of education, hate the army and all who are in any wise connected with it. Send your son, says Chesterfield, to the university; it is true indeed his manners will receive no great polish from it, but then he will learn to declaim for the constitution, and to hate the army. How far the learned gentleman is an example of this observation, I shall not pretend to judge.

Mr. Grattan.—I never gave a vote with more satisfaction in my life, than the vote I gave a few nights ago on this subject. I voted against the retrenchment of the military peace establishment, to preserve the honour of the nation.

This motion has been put to-night upon a question which has been determined already, by a decision of this House. This establishment has been continued fourteen years.

When it was proposed before, it was moved that an address should be presented to his Majesty, accompanied with a report of 1768. To present such a report, would be giving the idea that we could reconsider that report of 1768. That report was then before the administration, and men of the first characters were parties in that report. It was made before the augmentation took place. It was made by the Right Honourable Gentleman who voted for the augmentation in 1769. The question of this night set out with a fair prospect of ill success. It is wanted to go into the establishment of 1751; but that is impossible. The first thing which stands in your way is the additional pay to dragoons, you must strike off the pay to the dragoons, and the increase of pay to the infantry, and the allowances for expences. A soldier has to encounter expences in every article. Does the Right Honourable Gentleman mean to go back to the middle of this century? Since that period the rent of lands have increased one-third; in order, therefore, to go back, you must lower the price of land, and even that would not be sufficient; you must alter the price of hay and oats, and all the necessaries of life. Making every allowance, what great advantage does he boast of? What would be the saving if the military establishment be reduced to what it was in 1751? In the pay of dragoons 5,100*l.* and 1,500*l.* in the pay of infantry. The half pay must be broke. All expences together, amount to 368,000*l.* The gentleman's political schemes are like nostrums; they will not answer the end proposed. The gentleman's arguments go to the question of the augmentation; but are we to take from the kingdom part of the support of the empire, merely to save to Ireland an expence of 52,000*l.* per year, for I can make it appear it is no more? You cannot decide for this motion with honour to your country. The revenues in 1769, when you voted this augmentation, were less; but the revenues for the last two years have increased 100,000*l.* per year. The free trade is a resource which we have not yet derived the benefit of; but it is such a resource as we had not when we voted the augmentation in 1769. You had not such resources as you have now.

What has been the change of affairs in England? Great Britain has added millions to her debt. You were the propounders of the augmentation, when the kingdom was labouring under every

disadvantage in point of trade. Will gentlemen tell you now, that, animated with the spirit of liberty, being now in a superior situation to what you were in 1769, the maintaining of 15,000 men is distressful to Ireland. Every argument in favour of the augmentation in 1769, is in favour of it now, and will you now plead inability, in order to withdraw the coverture? I admire economy as much as any man; but will a generous nation make excuses for breach of a covenant!—A nation which has two millions and a half of men, and the benefit of the plantation trade, and an increasing revenue; is such a nation unable to support 15,000 men? This is a question of empire, and not of party.

I have heard in this House great professions of gratitude, and are we now to be told we want gratitude, or are we to banish the idea of generosity from these walls? I say you owe to Great Britain the plantation trade? You have now an interest in the empire of England, to defend it against any attack of the House of Bourbon, and you are only to maintain a part of the army for the general defence of the empire: to maintain 15,000 men. It is but justice to maintain them, for Great Britain has increased her navy, which is for the protection of this kingdom as well as Great Britain; you are necessarily bound to contribute in some shape or other; and you are asked to continue the army of 15,000 men. Strike off all idle expences, look to the accounts, look to the civil establishment, there is an increase of 200,000*l.* but the military establishment ought not to be cut off. Apply the amputation where necessary; but do not disband the army. The spirit of the people of England is in favour of Ireland, it is unwise to make her regret those periods in which she gave you advantages; there was a firmness and moderation in the conduct of Irishmen then, and the high character of Ireland will be advanced in adhering to the same conduct now. Great Britain was the object of your heart in 1769, and will you in 1783, be considered as wanting faith? For in 1782, you told Great Britain you would stand or fall by her. Will you now fully the honour of the Irish nation by disbanding 3,000 men, for saving of 50,000*l.* in order to take from England those men which you augmented in 1769, before you received any benefits?

No man has a greater respect for the people than I have, but with respect to the present question, it is for the honour of the nation these men should be maintained.

This is not a question of equalization, the point to be decided is, whether the expences of your army can be diminished; can you diminish the pay of a soldier a halfpenny per day? You cannot do it, or you must first order the prices of the necessaries of life to be less. It is not the object or wish of the people to pick the pocket of a poor soldier of a halfpenny a day. I think it is for

the interest of my country, that these 15,000 should be maintained, as they are part of the army for the whole empire. I am for making all practicable retrenchments. Let us go into the committee, and see whether you cannot make other retrenchments. This question has been pretty fully discussed, I shall only add, that as far as I know of the present administration, they will enter into every practicable œconomy; I do not conform to them, but they conform to me; a man may do justice to both. With respect to the court of admiralty in this kingdom being put on an establishment separately from England, our right to external legislation, was a spontaneous unsolicited grant from Great Britain. We have got an annual bill of supply, but these measures were not blazoned out. With respect to the reduction of our military establishment, while I live I never will take away the forces of our common empire.

Mr. *Brownlow* said, I never rose with greater diffidence or reluctance to oppose the Right Honourable Gentleman under whose banners I have so often fought, though unequal to the combat; my maxim is, to condemn measures, not men. It requires no great abilities to see, that the expence of 12,000 men must be less than maintaining 15,000. The question is, whether a retrenchment is necessary? Our accumulated debt is a proof of this. Our free trade is nothing but a name at present, it produces nothing but expences; the numerous applications from infant manufactures for aid, is a sufficient proof of this. Great Britain does not require so large an army, for her dominions are reduced. We were never remiss in shewing our affection for our sister kingdom, but the military establishment is the only fund where retrenchment can now be made.

Mr. *Flood*.—There is one idea, which I cannot suffer to remain upon the breast of the House for a minute. I say, on the breast of the House, for it is addressed to our passions.—It would be dishonourable, we are told, in the moment of Britain's distress, to withdraw our quota of troops, and to break the covenant, which we had made with her in her days of prosperity.—Who will say there ever was any such covenant?—Who will say that any such covenant now exists?—If there be, let it be shewn; that if it be express, we may rectify and perform it. If it be implied, that we may consider the extent of that implication.—I will not suffer ideal imaginary covenants to obtrude themselves on the public sentiments. By such covenants every motion for œconomy may be barred, every attempt for retrenchment defeated; for you may be called breakers of covenants on every other occasion, and with equal justice be taxed with ingratitude.

Mr. *Grattan*.—I said that the military establishment was covenanted; but I never said that I would support domestic profusion: I never said, I would bar every kind of œconomy.

Mr. Flood.—I say the principle goes to that, it either gives a sanction to all expence, or it does not.—If it does, it is an absolute prohibition to æconomy. I say no express covenant can be shewn, and I trust I will prove that no implied covenant exists.—I say, no man can shew that the expence of the army is such, as we are even now able to bear: and did we then agree, that if England acknowledged the right of Ireland, we were to support 15,000 men? Mr. Fitzpatrick, the Secretary at War in Great Britain, was here when the covenant was made, if any covenant ever was made; now, Mr. Fitzpatrick, when he proposed the reduction of the British troops, said that as to Ireland, he could not say what number of troops her parliament would think proper to support. Was this the language of one, who knew of a covenant, and he must have known it, if any covenant had existed—I rely upon it if there had, Mr. Fitzpatrick would have said, the Irish nation is bound by covenant to maintain such a number of troops; and I contend for it that as he did not use this argument, that the British nation does not consider us as bound to maintain any specific number of forces. It is wrong, therefore, at a late hour of the night, to impose a covenant on us. It is an idle dream, and I should think myself the basest man in the world to tell you that such a covenant existed.—I do not wish to give you liberty, to strip you of that liberty.—I could go much further, but my ill state of health prevents me. I do not want to go into the state of the expences in 1751.—I am not here with a mill stone about my neck, to give my assent to measures I cannot support. I must depend upon the justice of this House to believe I could add much more in favour of this motion, if my health permitted me.

Mr. Grattan.—The Honourable Gentleman mistakes me strangely, if he supposes, that I said the covenant was preferred together with our claim of right.—We said, indeed, to England when we preferred that claim, that we must share her constitution, and would share her fate; and I admit that we are not bound in *law*, to support the establishment, though I contend, we are bound in *honour*.

Mr. Denis Daly.—The Honourable Gentleman who proposed the amendment, has supported it with all his usual ability, and with that eloquence *which can make the worse appear the better reason*; and so plausible does that reasoning appear, that nothing but the most full conviction of the principle, could make me attempt to support the military establishment as it now stands.

In supporting that establishment, I have the sanction of an act of this House; I have a sanction which I consider almost as highly as the authority of the Honourable Gentleman himself. For the augmentation was founded on a principle which had the support of all parties. It is recollected by every body, that when the augmentation was first proposed it was rejected.—On its second proposi-

tion, it was received as an accession to the constitution. If it was at that time prudent to increase our army, what has since happened to authorize a reduction, or to shew that it is necessary? On the contrary, I say, our situation both external and internal, rather calls for an augmentation. If after the last wars, when the reputation of England was a *tower of strength*, it was proper to increase our armies, what ought we to do at this day, when the efforts of France and Spain have been more successful?

I value oeconomy as much as any man, but oeconomy is dearly purchased, with the loss of safety,

America was the theatre of former wars, it is now the ally of our enemies. Minorca might also have been formerly called a kind of outwork to Ireland, it is now in the hands of Spain; and it is not improbable that the House of Bourbon will profit by her past experience; she will not year after year, waste her blood and spend her treasure before Gibraltar, but if a war broke out again, will carry it into this country; and I cannot therefore agree to strip it of its defence.

The volunteers of Ireland have been mentioned in this debate. To give them praise is but to join the general voice; but I cannot think, that it would be prudent to leave the defence of the kingdom to a body of men, whose slightest motion government does not direct, and whom the state has not the power to retain embodied for a single hour,

Were I worthy to suggest a sentiment to those great and respectable bands, it is, that they should reserve themselves for great occasions, and not listen to the inflammatory speeches of men, whose utmost wishes are to mislead them.

Mr. Flood.—The Honourable Gentleman has learned his language from his situation; and has soon become an adept in the speeches which flow from office.

Mr. Daly.—I do declare, I never did make any one official speech whatsoever in my life; and rather than do so, I would follow the example of the Honourable Gentleman himself, and be silent while in office.

The House then divided,

For the Amendment,	—	65
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Against the Amendment,	—	143
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Tellers for the Ayes, the Honourable Mr. Browne, and Mr. Parsons.

Tellers for the Noes, General Luttrell, and Major Doyle.

The main question, as proposed by Sir Henry Cavendish, was then put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Foster moved, that it be an instruction to the committee of supply, to inquire how many men are necessary for the defence of this kingdom.

Mr. *Flood* proposed the question of adjournment, which was negatived.

The question for going into the committee of supply proposed by Mr. *Foster*, was put and carried in the affirmative.

Right Honourable *John Foster* then moved, "That it be an instruction to the committee of supply, to consider what bounties on the sale of woollen cloths, and woollens mixed, cottons and cottons mixed, thread and thread mixed, would best conduce to encourage these manufactures."

Mr. *Hartley* said, he would have no objection to such bounties, if he did not clearly perceive they were meant as a substitute for protecting duties, which alone can rescue the poor of this country from their present miserable state. That the duties on wrought goods between this kingdom and England, bore no degree of proportion; for example, on broad cloths imported here from England there is but six-pence a yard, whereas on the cloths of Ireland brought into England, the enormous duty of two pounds and six-pence sterling was laid; coarse and narrow cloths from England paid only two-pence per yard here, whereas our cloths of the same description were liable to four shillings and six-pence a yard.

Mr. *Alcock* moved, 'that glass be included in these manufactures which are to receive a bounty on the sale; at least such as is wrought at Waterford.

The *Provost* spoke in favour of the glass manufactory at Cork, and said an immense capital had been sunk in this infant manufacture, "but," continued he, "I do not think a bounty on the sale so efficacious a mode of encouraging this or any other infant manufacture as a sum of money, for when the manufacture is brought to perfection it does not require bounties: I shall therefore, if the petition of the glass manufacture of Cork is not attended to, oppose the granting of any bounties whatever."

Sir *Vevey Colclough* desired that copper might be included in the bounties.

Mr. *Hartley* spoke in favour of silk as an object.

Mr. *Corry* spoke in favour of manufacturers in paper-making, one manufactory of which had been begun at Newry.

Mr. *Foster* objected to any addition to his motion.

Mr. *Molyneux* made some pertinent observations on the conduct of administration, who directed their œconomy to grants for encouraging manufactures, while they encourage profusion in other respects: and said the night was now too far spent to enter upon the committee of supply, and therefore moved, that the House do adjourn.

In consequence of which the question being put, there appeared for the adjournment,

Ayes,	—	—	—	47
Noes,	—	—	—	93

Majority,	—	—	—	46
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The question was then put, for including copper, silk, and glass, in the instructions, when it was negatived without a division.

The original motion of Mr. *Foster*, respecting the bounties, was then carried, *nem. con.*

Mr. *Foster* then moved, “That it be an instruction to the committee of supply, to take into consideration that part of the Lord Lieutenant’s speech that respected the establishments; the report from the committee of accounts; and the several applications for encouragement to manufactures and public works.”—Passed *nem. con.*

Mr. *Hartley* said, that as by an unavoidable delay, the examination into the merits of the petition from the corporation of the city of Dublin, for aid in carrying on the ballast office, had not been fully entered into, he moved, “That the said petition be referred to the committee of supply.”

No question was put on the motion, but the petition was ordered to lie on the table.

The order of the day being read, for entering into the committee of supply,

The House accordingly resolved into the grand committee of supply.

The Right Honourable *John Foster* in the chair.

The *Attorney General* then began the first of his official motions, viz.

Resolved, “That the debt of this nation at Lady-day, 1783, was 1,919,386*l.*

— “That the nation is also liable to the interest of life annuities on the sum of 440,000*l.* at seven per cent.—Agreed to, *nem. con.*

“That the supply to be granted to his Majesty, to commence the 25th December, 1783, continue for fifteen months, that is, until the 25th of March, 1785.”

Sir *Edward Newenham* said, that it was the general sense of the nation, that the money bills should not exceed the term of six months; he moved as an amendment, “That the words SIX MONTHS be inserted instead of *fifteen months.*”

Mr. *Hartley* declared he seconded the motion, as he was instructed to vote for no bill of supply for a longer term than six months, until the great national measures now pending be de-

cided. The question on the amendment was then put, when there appeared,

Ayes for the amendment,	—	32
Noes,	—	92

Majority against the Six Months Money Bill — 60

The *Attorney General* then made two motions respecting the military establishment, on the large scale of 15,000 effective men being maintained for the defence of the nation, 12,000 always to remain therein

Mr. *Molynux* and Mr. *Montgomery* of Cavan threw out some sarcastic observations on the measure of keeping this force.

The question passed without a division; and the House adjourned to next day.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1783.

Two Members sworn.—The call of the defaulters continued, and several ordered into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms.

The Right Honourable the *Speaker*, reported that he had, pursuant to order, communicated by letter, to Admiral Lord Howe, the resolution of this House of the 16th of October last, to which his Lordship was pleased by letter, to return the following answer :

London, November the 4th, 1783.

S I R,

ON my return to town I received your letter of the 17th of October, inclosing the most honourable testimony of the opinion which the Commons of Ireland entertain of my conduct in discharge of the trust which his Majesty was most graciously pleased to repose in me for the relief of Gibraltar.

Impressed as I am, with a due sense of this flattering distinction, I cannot but at the same time express my acknowledgments to you, for the very obliging terms in which you have communicated to me, the unanimous approbation of that respectable assembly.

I have the honour to be,
With great esteem and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble Servant,

H O W E.

*To the Right Honourable the
Speaker of the House of
Commons of Ireland.*

Mr. *Hartley* delivered the report from the committee appointed to take into consideration the petition of Benjamin Haughton. Ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. *Grattan* moved, "That a committee be appointed to enquire into the expence of collecting the revenue."

The proceeding on this motion was interrupted by Mr. *George Ponsonby*, who moved, "that leave be given him to bring in a bill for altering the law relative to Custodians." Granted accordingly.

He then observed, some severe animadversions had lately been made from the other side of the House, on the raising of fencible or provincial regiments, and an enquiry threatened; now if some gentleman from that side did not by this day week make some motion on that subject, he should himself move upon it.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* said, that there were so many papers and accounts to be looked into before that business could be brought forward, that one week was too short a period.

Mr. *Grattan* then resumed his motion respecting the collection of the revenue, and said, he was convinced it was an object of retrenchment, as though there was an increase in the revenue last year of 150,000*l.* it would have been much more if the collection had not amounted to 16½ per cent; and he was certain that it could be collected at an expence of 10 per cent.

Right Hon. Mr. *Beresford* said, that the more minutely the accounts of the revenue department were inspected, the greater would be his satisfaction, and that of the gentlemen with whom he had the honour to sit at the revenue board; however, the amount of the collection, though much greater than he wished, was not so great as the Right Hon. Gentleman had stated, for in it he had included the incidental expences of the Custom-House, and great works now carrying on; were these deducted, the expence of collection would not amount to fourteen per cent. though formerly it had been eighteen: besides, in comparing this country with England, gentlemen had fallen into a mistake. A single great distiller in England, pays more duty than an whole country here, though he requires but one officer to watch him, and the country perhaps forty. He said, there are twenty-six ports in Ireland, of which nineteen do not produce a revenue equal to the expence of guarding them; and the whole balance in the public favour, arises from seven ports, Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Belfast, Limerick, Derry, and Newry, though the necessity of watching the inferior ports must be obvious to every man. Now it is said, that in England the revenue is collected at seven per cent. but of those seven ports that have been mentioned, the revenue is collected at five and ninetenths per cent. the manner of estimating the expence of collecting in England, and comparing it with this country is unfair; England has been a

market for the whole world, goods have been imported there and paid heavy duties, for the purpose of re-exportation when those duties are drawn back. This increases her fictitious revenue, though it does not add one farthing to the real one; and this reduces the relative proportion of expence in the collection.

The revenue board of Ireland, which was originally constituted for revenue business only, has had the business and expences of the whole state heaped upon it. The expence of passing bills, and sundry circumstances of the law business, have raised that particular charge from 1800*l.* per annum, to 4800*l.* The revenue cruisers, which government employed for convoying troops, did in the last year stand in 32,000*l.* which is charged as a revenue expence. Nay, the very expresses which government sends to different places on government affairs must be paid by the revenue board. Those things together make a prodigious sum, and it is all charged to the prodigality of the commissioners of revenue, who are blamed for expences in which they have no manner of concern. For my part, continued he, it is the desire of my heart, that every gentleman in the nation should be acquainted with our transactions, and that parliament should scrutinize them with the utmost attention. The revenue incidents have many improper charges upon them; and salaries, which if they ought to appear any where, ought to appear upon your establishment.

Mr. *Grattan* said, that he would not mention a time for the investigation of revenue matters, though he thought parliament should take it up speedily, and fairly enquire into them. He thought the Right Hon. Gentleman had very candidly explained to the House the condition of that department. As to the incidents which increased the expence of collecting, not by industry but by idleness, they should be curtailed at present, and guarded from abuse in future; for if people who have salaries on that list, were placed on the pension list, parliament would see them, and strike them off. But as at present circumstanced, the revenue incidents might be called a concealed pension list.

Sir *John Parnel* said, that to stand back would be a censure on the conduct of the commissioners, and would seem as if they feared to bring their transactions to light. He admitted there were many abuses in the revenue department; that department was under a particular controul, but he rejoiced that that controul was under the controul of parliament. He invited the House to enter into an examination of the commissioners conduct, and said that nothing would more redound to their honour. But there was one thing that might be charged as a blame upon the House; country gentlemen did not teach their tenants an obedience to the revenue laws, and there was amongst all ranks of people a disposition to oppose them; every little merchant was ready to institute, and versed in conducting suits against the revenue; and

the general desire seemed to be, to avoid as much as possible the payment of legal duties.

Mr. *Mason* expressed himself to the same effect, and ardently desired an inquiry.

Mr. *David Latouche* said—I rise for a third time in this House, to present a petition from a much distressed and injured set of men, the sugar bakers of Ireland, for relief.

He delivered the petition accordingly, and it was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. *Grattan* said, the House were in honour bound to rescind the alterations that had been made in England in the bill of equalization in 1780, and recur to the regulation they had made for that business previous thereto.

Mr. *Foster* then said, he would make the motion he had given notice of a few nights ago, namely,

Resolved, That no money be made payable for any grant to any public work, canal, pier, harbour or building, until the expenditure of all sums, if any, which may have been granted for the same during the last seven years, shall have been accounted for before the Commissioners of Imprest Accounts; nor unless a plan and estimate of the work proposed be deposited with the said Commissioners, before it be undertaken, nor until proof shall be made upon oath before them that the work has been executed pursuant to the said plan and estimate, or such security as they shall approve be entered into by recognizance in his Majesty's Court of Exchequer, that the work shall be executed pursuant to the said plan and estimate; and accounted for before them upon oath, within a time to be approved of by the said Commissioners, and named in the said recognizance.

The *Provost* observed, that some period should be ascertained, suppose for two or three sessions back.

The motion was agreed to *nem con*.

Mr. *Griffith* said—Though no man in this House is a greater advocate for economy than I, yet I must communicate a thought which has just struck me, as I think the honour of the nation is intimately concerned therein: it is, that as we are to have annual sessions in future, I would wish some addition was made to the stipend allowed to the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary, that our Viceroy might be enabled to support the becoming splendor of the Irish court. It was not, he said, from any connection or acquaintance with the Viceroy or his Secretary, for he had none.

The *Speaker* said, that if such a matter was taken up, it must be on another day.

Mr. *Pelham* declared he should be very sorry the nation should be put to any additional expence; that his excellency nor he did

desire it. If, however, the circumstances of the nation made it necessary, he wished any increase might be attached to the office, not the officer.

Mr. Corry gave notice, that he would on Friday move an address to his Majesty, on the Prince of Wales having attained his one-and-twentieth year, the substance of which address he had moved the first day of the session.

The Order of the day being read, the House pursuant thereto, resolved itself into the committee of supply. The Right Hon. John Foster, in the chair.

The Attorney General made a few observations on the immense sums of money granted by the House for public works and manufactures; amounting to near half the national debt, and said if he was supported therein, there should not be a farthing granted this session for these purposes; and moved, "That all grants, except those for the Dublin Society, Charter Schools and the officers of the House, shall not exceed the sum of 15,000*l*."

Mr. Griffith said, that when he had lately cast his eyes around to discover some prospect of œconomy, he did not imagine the manufactures of this country would ever become an object thereof. That he had no job to carry, but he was convinced our manufacturers required greater capitals than those of England, as they are obliged to prepare all the component parts themselves; and beside that, contend with the rich, established manufacturers of England, who lose no opportunity of destroying them, as was lately the case, when the people of Manchester sent agents here to buy up all the cotton. He concluded with declaring his partiality to two great objects at this time, which was the cotton manufacture and the grand canal.

Mr. Kearney observed, that when we could not export a thread of our fabrics, except white linens, we encouraged our manufactures with an unsparing hand; but now that our exports were free, we stinted all encouragement.

Mr. Lowther moved, that 20,000*l*. be substituted for 15,000*l*.

Mr. Fitzgibbon said, that voting 15,000*l*. annually, was equal to our formerly voting 30,000*l*.

Mr. Green.—I voted for 15,000 men on our establishment, I now would vote a liberal encouragement to our manufactures, to enable the people to pay these 15,000 men.—He then launched out into encomiums on Mr. Smith's manufactory at Balbriggan, where 600 hands were employed—3000*l*. had been expended in setting it up, but 8000*l*. more were required to compleat it.—He then moved, that the sum stinted be 30,000*l*. The sum of 15,000*l*. was agreed to.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1783.

Sir *H. Harstonge* moved for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the fisheries of this kingdom.—Leave given.

Sir *Edward Newenham* moved, that an order be made, that the corporation books and records relating to the borough of Kilmallock, be lodged with the Clerk of the House, and that all who complained of an undue election and return for that borough, should have liberty to inspect the same.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* objected to the motion; he said he would by no means oppose the books being deposited in some safe hands at a convenient time before the trial was to come on, and he would himself be answerable for the bringing them in, but it would be highly improper to comply with the motion at present: he had seen several names signed to the petition, and had made every enquiry to find out who the persons complaining were; and from the best information he could procure, one of them was the parish curate, another was the parish clerk, another was the sexton, another the grave digger, and two other old beggarmen who received alms from the church; there were a few more names, but from the best accounts he could perceive, they were persons totally unknown to the people resident in and about the borough. Now he was apprehensive that if all those respectable personages whom he had mentioned, were permitted to have the books in their hands for so long a time, they might be subject to mutilation. There was another reason why he could not consent, and that was, the agent for the petitioners had told him he was very much mistaken, if he thought the persons who had signed the petition were the only people concerned; he could assure him, there were many others of rank and fortune. Now, if there were others behind the curtain, whom he hoped to drag from their covert before the trial should come on, he was afraid the corporation books might be made use of to some very bad purposes; besides, the borough had, by their charter, a right to try civil actions to the amount, he believed of 20*l.* and these books would be wanting to make entries of their proceedings, and record their judgments; for these reasons, he must object to the books being now delivered, but he would readily agree to their being lodged a week before the trial. As to the rolls and records, he did not believe the House could make any order; they were in the rolls office, and attested copies of them might be procured, which would be evidence before the committee, as they were in every court of law.

Sir *Edward Newenham* assured the Hon. Gentleman, for whom he had the highest respect, that he did not know one of the persons whose names were affixed to the petition, nor what situation

of life they were in; it had been put into his hands and recommended by some most respectable characters.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* assured the Hon. Knight, he acquitted him of the smallest imputation of the kind—he had acted in a manner towards him which he would ever remember, with the greatest thanks, particularly by acquainting him, before he presented the petition, with the circumstances of it, and declaring if it was a litigious or vexatious one, he would not bring it into the House; but it was his desire it should be brought in, and he thought it was the duty of every member, to whom a matter of that nature was intrusted, to lay it before the House.

Hon. Mr. *Maffey* said, he could not sit still and hear men of property, respectable freeholders, some of whom had done him the honour of voting for him, represented in so ludicrous a light; he was asked to bring in the petition, but he refused it for some particular reasons; however, he knew the petitioners to be men of property.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* said, he had his information from a gentleman of undoubted veracity, on whom he could rely: he knew nothing of the property of the petitioners, but he knew they followed the occupations he had stated, and he did not think it safe to trust the books so long in the power of those his respectable would-be constituents.

The question was then put, “That the books should be delivered to the clerk one week before the day fixed for the trial.”—Ordered.

The *Attorney General* reported, that the committee appointed to enquire into the merits of a petition, complaining of an undue election for the borough of Enniscorthy, had come to the following resolutions:

“Resolved, that the return made for burgesses to represent the borough of Enniscorthy is a void return.

“Resolved, that the returning officer made such return unduly and illegally.”

The *Speaker* was then going to put the question, that he should issue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown, to issue a writ for the election of burgesses to serve in parliament for the borough of Enniscorthy.

Mr. *Curran* said, he had great doubts whether this might be done: he knew the decision of the committee was final; but at the same time the committee could go no further than the House had deputed them; the petitioners had complained only of the undue election of Mr. English; why then should the committee declare Mr. Longfield, who was not an object of the petition, to be unduly elected? that gentleman was not to be supposed to have gone before the committee: it was unnecessary for him to

make a defence, where he was not charged, and surely where it was not to be supposed that he made any defence, it was improper to say he was unduly returned.

The *Speaker* said, it was a new point, and if gentlemen pleased, he would defer putting the question for a few days, till the matter might be considered.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* said, that he was sure the House had it not in its power to over-rule the verdict of the select committee, that the House therefore ought not to delay an instant; and if the question was withdrawn, he would himself move it.

Mr. *O'Hara* was sure the gentleman who had raised this doubt was not acquainted with the merits of the petition, or informed that Mr. Longfield had, during the course of the trial, been ably defended by council; he however, expressed his concurrence with the expedient of delaying the question.

The *Attorney General* declared his concurrence with the opinion of the Hon. Member who had spoken last but one, and he therefore agreed that the House must declare Mr. Longfield's election void, as well as that of Mr. English, for when he considered the oath he had taken, he could not reconcile to his conscience making any other report than that which had been made.

The *Solicitor General* said, that the House had no discretion in this business; for if it had in this one instance, it would have it likewise in every other, the consequence of which would be our being reduced to the same situation we were in before the election law was passed, when party, private friendships and connexions swayed on these occasions.

Mr. *Corry* said, it were better to wait a day or two, that gentlemen might turn the matter in their minds.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* said, since the passing of the law, called Mr. Grenville's law, not one objection had been attempted to be made to the report of a committee, save one which was instantly scouted out of the House, as he hoped, would the present; in this case, the petition complained, that there was no election; it was true, they said, they intended to vote for Mr. Longfield and Mr. Walsh, but that the election was precipitated to prevent their voting at all. Now would gentlemen have a committee of fifteen men, on their oaths, say there was no election, and at the same time declare Mr. Longfield was elected? If their intention to elect was to be considered as electing, the committee should have declared Mr. Walsh and Mr. Longfield duly elected, the absurdity of which, he was sure, would be seen by every man.

The question for issuing the writ was then put and carried.

The order of the day being read, and the *Speaker* having left the chair, Mr. Foster took his seat at the table.

Col. *Ross* moved, that the sum of 1000l. per ann. be granted for the use of the inland navigation.

The *Attorney General* moved, that 300l. be granted to the Speaker to be distributed as he should think proper, to clerks attending the committees of elections.

Mr. *Beresford* moved a sum of 100l. to be paid Mr. John Wetheral, to defray his expences in going to London with several books upon the business of the nation.

Mr. *Pelham* then rose and stated the national accounts; he said he had taken up the hereditary revenue upon a medium of seven years antecedent to the American war, and the additional duties he had estimated from the last two years, on account of our enlarged trade. The arrears for the last two years were 15,000l. he would therefore suppose the sum wanting to be 100,000l. but from the many grants which had last night been voted, and which came to about 100,000l. the sum wanting would be 350,000l. however, as there was about 20,000l. in widows pensions, which, he believed, would never be called for, and some money in the hands of collectors, he thought he would not be justifiable in demanding more than a loan of 300,000l. hoping that the remaining 50,000l. might be made up by the widows pensions, the money in the collectors hands, and the revenue in the post office; he wished to raise this money by a loan, and not to tax or burthen the nation with any additional duties, but he would not prescribe the manner of procuring the money, leaving it to the wisdom of parliament.

Mr. *Flood* said, he did not rise to embarrass or give any opposition to the Right Hon. Gentleman, whenever he did, it would not be personally, but in a manly manner and upon the grounds of fair argument.—He had hoped to hear a better account from the Right Hon. Gentleman; but he owned he was not much comforted by what had fallen from him, in the statement of the national finances he had just given, he observed therein several articles in his opinion mistated, so as to give a more favourable aspect to our affairs than he feared they deserved, particularly in the credits taken for sums of money, which are not forth coming, or perhaps never might; such is a credit for 20,000l. of widows pensions uncalled for; but if they are called for, they must be paid, and therefore the kingdom had no right to suppose itself 20,000l. richer, for what the Right Hon. Gentleman said—The Hon. Gentleman had also looked upon the money due from collectors as if it was sure money, but he feared that he would in this find himself mistaken, neither could he agree to the mode on which he had formed his estimates; he had taken up the hereditary revenue before the American war, because then it was at the highest, and he took up the additional duties from the last two years, be-

cause they were then at the highest—now, certainly this was not fair, because it was evident, that as the additional duties encreased, the hereditary revenue would decrease in proportion ; so that in fact there is a much greater sum deficient than 350,000*l.* However, he should not oppose the loan of 300,000*l.* because he knew it to be necessary.

Mr. *Pelham* said, that he admitted what the gentleman who had last spoken, had observed respecting the widows pensions ; but though he had computed the statement on the scale of two years, it was only meant to provide for fifteen months, as he understood the supply would not be for a longer time.

Mr. *Dennis Daly* observed, that the money stated in the collectors hands was all to be considered as ready money, they having acknowledged it and were prepared to pay it.

Mr. *Corry* asked what it was computed the post office might produce at this time ?

Mr. *Pelham* said he could not answer accurately ; but it was thought about nine or ten thousand pounds.

The *Attorney General* moved, that 2,156,000*l.* be the supply granted to his Majesty.—Agreed.

That a further supply of 1000*l.* per ann. be granted for the English Protestant Schools.—Agreed.

The House resumed.—Ordered, that the report from the committee of supply be received to-morrow.

Mr. *George Ogle* moved, that Green and Plunket, the persons concerned in a breach of privilege in arresting a person summoned on a committee, be ordered to attend to-morrow.—Ordered.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1783.

Right Hon. *John Beresford* presented a petition from the Brewers of the city of Dublin, setting forth the high price of malt, now at 16*s.* to 16*s.* 6*d.* a barrel ; and praying the House may address his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, to lay an embargo on the exportation of malt from this kingdom.

Mr. *Foster* said a few nights ago he had submitted his opinion to the House, that a bounty on the sale of manufactured goods would be preferable to a grant to the manufacturer ; and as there was an idea that the petition of Joseph Smith, late of Lancashire, but now of Balbriggan, did come within the order that was referred to the committee of supply, which order was, “ that no larger

sum than 15,000*l.* be granted to the different manufacturers; he then moved, that the above petition be excepted from said order.

Mr. *O'Neil* spoke very much in favour of some capital cotton manufacturers in Belfast, who were too late in their application last session of parliament; when 5,000*l.* were divided between the cotton manufacturers; he hoped they would not be precluded this time, and said there was a manufacture similar to that of Mr. Smith's, established in his neighbourhood, that deserved encouragement.

Mr. *Green* informed the House, that the petitioner, Smith, did not come within the description of manufacturers who petitioned for grants; he had laid out very large sums in building different works necessary to his manufacture, and what he prayed for, was to be in part reimbursed.

Mr. *O'Hara* hoped, they would not reject the petition for enlarging the quay of Sligo—a sea-port daily increasing in its exportation.

The question being put on the motion,

Ayes,	—	—	—	45
Noes,	—	—	—	96

The Right Hon. *Dennis Daly* said, he had received an order from the House of Lords, for an account of the military establishment of this kingdom, which he had already delivered into this House, but could not in time furnish another; requested therefore to withdraw his return, in order to comply with the Lords order.

Leave was given him accordingly.

The Right Honourable *John Foster*, according to order, reported from the committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to take into consideration the supply granted to his Majesty, as also his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's speech, the resolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, where the same were read, and are as follow:

1. Resolved, That a sum not exceeding 1,919,386*l.* 5*s.* 7½*d.* was the debt of the nation at Lady-day, 1783.

2. Resolved, That the nation is also liable to the payment of certain life annuities, at the rate of 6*l.* per cent. per annum; for a sum of 440,000*l.* and is also liable to the payment of certain other life annuities at the rate of 7*l.* 10*s.* per cent. per annum, for a further sum of 300,000*l.*

3. Resolved, That a supply be granted to his Majesty towards payment of the said debt, and towards supporting the several branches of the establishments, and for defraying the other necessary expences of Government, for fifteen months, from the 25th day of December, 1783, to the 25th day of March, 1785.

4. Resolved, That 12,000 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included, are necessary to be maintained within this kingdom for its defence.

5. Resolved, That to enable his Majesty to carry into execution his gracious intentions, and determined resolution, signified to us by his Excellency the Lord Viscount Townshend, late Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom, by his Majesty's command, to keep within this kingdom, for the necessary defence of the same, 12,000 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included, at all times, unless in case of invasion or rebellion in Great Britain, 3092 men, commission and non-commission officers included, be maintained for one year and three months, from the 1st day of January, 1784, to the 31st day of March, 1785, inclusive, so as that the forces on the establishment of this kingdom may amount to 15,092 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included.

6. Resolved, That a sum of 4000*l.* be given to the Right Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons, to enable him to maintain the state and dignity of his office.

7. Resolved, That a sum after the rate of 2000*l.* per annum, be given for one year and three months, from the 25th day of December, 1783, to the 25th day of March, 1785, to the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture, to encourage the raising sufficient quantities of hemp and flax in this kingdom.

8. Resolved, That a further sum, after the rate of 2000*l.* per annum, for one year and three months, be given to the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture, for the encouragement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures, during the said time, in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught.

9. Resolved, That the several sums granted to the Trustees of the flaxen and hempen manufactures be exempted from the payment of all fees.

10. Resolved, That a sum of 500*l.* be given to Thomas Burgh, Esq; Accountant General, as a reward for his expence and trouble in preparing and stating the public accounts of the nation, laid before this House this session of parliament.

11. Resolved, That a sum of 300*l.* be given to Henry Gore, Esq; as a reward for his expence and trouble in preparing and making out the account of the imports and exports for two years, ending the 25th of March, 1783, pursuant to the order of this House.

12. Resolved, That a sum of 800*l.* be given to Thomas Ellis, Clerk of this House, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of parliament.

13. Resolved, That a sum of 400*l.* be given to Benjamin Higgins, Clerk Assistant, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of parliament.

14. Resolved, That a sum of 1000*l.* be given to Dixie Codrington, Serjeant at Arms, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of parliament.

15. Resolved, That a sum of 400*l.* be given to James Corry, Clerk of the Journals and Records, appointed in pursuance of a report of a committee of this House, for his trouble and expence in the execution of his office.

16. Resolved, That a sum of 200*l.* be given to Dawson Ellis, Clerk of the Engrossments, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of parliament.

17. Resolved, That a sum of 600*l.* be given to George Frederick Winstanley, and Jonathan Rogers, the clerks attending the committee of accounts, and other committees, as a reward for their attendance and service this session of parliament, to be equally divided between them.

18. Resolved, That a sum of 250*l.* be given to George Frederick Winstanley, and Jonathan Rogers, Committee Clerks of this House, for their extraordinary trouble and expence in this session of parliament in attending select committees.

19. Resolved, That a sum of 112*l.* be given to Abraham Bradley King, for printing the public accounts, laid before the House this session of parliament.

20. Resolved, That a sum of 100*l.* be given to Laurence Sensi, as a reward for his trouble and attendance in delivering the votes to the Members this session of parliament.

21. Resolved, That a sum of 200*l.* be given to James McCowen, and Henry Holmes, door-keepers to this House, as a reward for their attendance and service this session of parliament, to be equally divided between them.

22. Resolved, That a sum of 400*l.* be given to the Speaker, to be by him divided among the back door-keepers and messengers attending this House, being thirteen in number, in such manner as he shall direct.

23. Resolved, That a sum of 200*l.* be given to Thomas Lestranger, for his extraordinary care and trouble in attending this House as Assistant Serjeant at arms.

24. Resolved, That a sum of 200*l.* be given to John Wetherall, for his extraordinary trouble in making up the several accounts by him laid before this House, and in attending this House this session of parliament.

25. Resolved, That a sum of 300*l.* be given to Paul Le Bas, Examiner of Corn Premiums, on account of the great increase of his trouble in examining and keeping accounts of said premiums, and for his expences in payment of clerks in the two years ending at Lady-day, 1783.

26. Resolved, That a sum of 200*l.* be given to John Swan, Examiner of Excise, for his extraordinary trouble and expence in preparing the accounts laid before this House.

27. Resolved, That a sum of 100*l.* be given to Henry Smyth, Deputy Paymaster of Corn Premiums, for his extraordinary trouble and expence, in preparing accounts by him laid before this House for two years, ending Midsummer, 1783.

28. Resolved, That a Sum of 1200*l.* be given to Sir Roger Palmer, Bart. in consideration of his extraordinary attendance, care and expence in the office of Paymaster of Corn Premiums during the two years, ending Michaelmas, 1783.

29. Resolved, That a sum of 200*l.* be given to Thomas Ellis, for his trouble and expence in preparing copies, superintending the printing and making an index to the twentieth volume of the journals of this House.

30. Resolved, That a sum of 5000*l.* be given to the Dublin Society for the improvement of Husbandedry, and other useful arts in Ireland, particularly for the encouragement of the glass manufacture, and to enable them to continue premiums for the extension of old and introduction of new manufactures in this kingdom; one half of the said sum at the least to be applied to the encouragement of agriculture and planting.

31. Resolved, That a sum of 5000*l.* be given to the Incorporated Society, towards supporting the Protestant Charter Schools of this kingdom.

32. Resolved, That a sum of 3000*l.* be granted to the Lord Chancellor, and Chief Judges, to enable them to pay the debt by them contracted in building offices for the public Records, and towards carrying on the said building.

33. Resolved, That a sum of 5000*l.* be given to the Governors of the Foundling Hospital and Work-house, towards enabling them to discharge the debts by them contracted for the use of that charity, and towards supporting their necessary expences.

34. Resolved, That the sum of 1500*l.* be granted to the Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital, to enable them to pay a debt contracted by them in buildings, furniture and repairs.

35. Resolved, That the sum of 1000*l.* be given to the Hibernian Marine Society, towards supporting the said charity.

36. Resolved, That the sum of 1000*l.* be given to the Governors of the Hibernian School, for the support of that charity.

37. Resolved, That a sum of 3000*l.* be granted to the Board of First Fruits, for building new churches, and rebuilding old churches in such parishes as no divine public service has been performed in for twenty years past.

38. Resolved, That the sum of 250*l.* be given to the Parish Minister and Church Wardens of the parish of Killurine, in the county of Wexford, to enable them to complete and finish the parish church of Killurine.

39. Resolved, That the sum of 2000*l.* be granted to the Visitors of Kilkenny College, to enable them to complete the same.

40. Resolved, That the sum of 5700*l.* be given to Thomas Ellis, to be by him paid for the cost of reprinting the new edition of the journals of this House.

41. Resolved, That the sum of 1500*l.* be granted to Thomas Ellis, for his trouble and care in reprinting the new edition of the journals.

42. Resolved, That the sum of 3000*l.* be given to the Corporation for the Relief of the Poor in the City of Dublin, for the support of the House of Industry, in aid of the charitable contributions.

43. Resolved, That the sum of 518*l.* 15*s.* be given to Sarah Bradley, the cost of printing and binding five hundred of the twentieth volume of the journals, delivered by her for the use of the members of this House.

44. Resolved, That a sum of 912*l.* 12*s.* be given to Mary Hay, the cost of forty-eight sets of the statutes of Ireland, in nine volumes, delivered by her for the use of the members of this House.

45. Resolved, That the sum of 400*l.* be granted for the rebuilding the church of Rathfarnham.

46. Resolved, That the sum of 2000*l.* be granted to the Trustees of the Circular Road, to discharge incumbrances on the said road, and towards completing the same.

47. Resolved, That a sum of 1000*l.* be given to Benjamin Higgins, Clerk Assistant, for his extraordinary trouble in balloting for committees to try controverted elections.

48. Resolved, That a sum of 2000*l.* be granted to Joseph Smith, to enable him to finish the machinery he has begun at Balbriggan.

49. Resolved, That the sum of 1000*l.* be granted to the Right Honourable the Earl of Ross, the Right Honourable Thomas Connolly, and George Montgomery, Esq; towards carrying on the navigation from Lake Erne, to Woodford Lake, in the county of Leitrim.

50. Resolved, That the sum of 600*l.* be granted to Edward Fitzgerald, Esq; to enable him to complete a pier at Liscannor.

51. Resolved, That the sum of 5000*l.* be given to the Right Honourable John O'Neill, the Right Honourable Barry Yelverton, the Honourable Hercules Rowley, Charles Ruxton, Esq; Conway Richard Dobbs, Esq; and Ezekiel Davis Wilson, Esq; Mayor of Carrickfergus, to repair the Quay of Carrickfergus.

52. Resolved, That a sum of 1000*l.* be granted to Adam Colclough and Pat. Colclough, to work the coal mines and a steam machine on the Lands of Donan,

53. Resolved, That the sum of 1000*l.* be given to the trustees appointed for carrying on the improvements of Cork harbour, to be expended in the same.

54. Resolved, That the sum of 1000*l.* be given to the Mayor, Sheriffs, Burgeffes and Commons of the county of the town of Drogheda, to enable them to improve the navigation of the River Boyne from the Bridge of Drogheda to the Sea.

55. Resolved, That the sum of 500*l.* be granted to John Howard Kyan, Esq; to enable him to build a smelting house and flatting mill at Ballymurtagh and Crownbawn, in the county of Wicklow.

56. Resolved, That a sum of 2000*l.* be granted to Richard Talbot, Esq; to enable him to complete his machinery at Malahide.

57. Resolved, That the sum of 500*l.* be given to the Minister and Church Wardens of the parish of St. Nicholas without, in the city of Dublin, towards rebuilding the church of said parish.

58. Resolved, That the sum of 1000*l.* be granted to Denis Bowes Daly and Anthony Daly, Esqrs. to be by them expended towards rendering the harbour of Galway more safe and commodious, and for the improvement of the same.

59. Resolved, That the sum of 2000*l.* be granted to John Staples and James Caulfield, Esqrs. to enable them to erect a steam engine at their collieries in Tyrone.

60. Resolved, That the sum of 1000*l.* be granted, for the purpose of improving the harbour of Dublin, to such persons and to be applied in such manner as shall hereafter be directed by parliament.

61. Resolved, That the sum of 1400*l.* be granted to the Right Honourable Lord Kilwarlin, Robert Ross, Esq; and George Hamilton, Esq; towards erecting a light house on the south rock on the east coast of the county of Down.

62. Resolved, That the sum of 15,000*l.* be granted for the purpose of paying bounties on the sale of the following manufactures of this kingdom; that is to say, the manufactures of wool, of wool mixed, of cotton, of cotton mixed, thread, kentings, and manufactures of iron or copper, to be applied after such rate and under such conditions and regulations as shall be directed by parliament.

63. Resolved, That a supply be granted to his Majesty for the use of the corporation for promoting and carrying on an inland navigation in Ireland, in order to enable them more effectually to carry on the said work.

64. Resolved, That the further supply to be granted to his Majesty for the use of the corporation for promoting and carrying on an inland navigation in Ireland be a sum not exceeding 1000*l.* per Annum.

65. Resolved, That the sum of 100*l.* be given to John Wetherall, the younger, Clerk in the Examiner of the Customs of

fice, for his trouble and expence in London for the service of the public.

66. Resolved, That a sum of 300*l.* be paid to Doctor Ellis, for the purpose of paying the extraordinary expence which may be incurred by the attendance of clerks on the select committees this session.

67. Resolved, That the supply granted to his Majesty be a sum not exceeding 2,756,262*l.* 3*s.* 9½*d.*

68. Resolved, That a further supply be granted to his Majesty for the encouragement of English protestant schools in this kingdom.

69. Resolved, That the further supply granted to his Majesty for the encouragement of English protestant schools in this kingdom be a sum not exceeding 1000*l.* for one year, from the 25th of March, 1784, to the 25th of March, 1785.

The *Speaker* then put the question on each resolution. When he came to the resolution of the supply being for fifteen months,

Sir Edward Newenham proposed as an amendment to the resolution, in the same manner as he had before done in the committee, "that the word *six* be substituted for fifteen."

Mr. Grattan said, it had been already debated: he had heard nothing new to induce him to alter his opinion against the amendment.

Sir Edward said, there was a time when the Right Hon. Gentleman and he coincided in opinion; and was sorry that of late they differed so widely.

Mr. Grattan said, the difference was not so great as the Hon. Gentleman apprehended; he would willingly agree to it, if a parliamentary reform was tacked to the money bill.

On the question being put on *Sir Edward Newenham's* motion, there were

Ayes,	—	—	34
Noes,	—	—	123

Tellers for the ayes, *Sir Edward Newenham* and *Mr. Molyneux*.

Tellers for the noes, *Lord Delvin*, and *Mr. Marcus Beresford*.

When the *Speaker* came to that part of the report, that 12,000 men are necessary for the defence of this kingdom,

The Hon. *Mr. Denis Brown* lamented the absence of that great man (*Mr. H. Flood*) who had so ably demonstrated in the committee that such a number of men was totally unnecessary; the state of the finances was not able by any means to support so great an expence, that retrenchment was the shadow, but prodigality the substance. He had not that lively sense of grateful feeling for England that inspires the gentlemen on the other side of the

House, for having obtained only what was our Right; nor had he much sense of gratitude for the protection afforded this kingdom during the war by the British navy, when our coasts were exposed to the depredations of the most paltry privateers of the enemy.—Yes, we had the Stag Frigate in our harbour, which we were told was not to protect but restrain our trade; that was a ship of observation, somewhat like the army of observation of 12,000 men we are going to have, which itself may probably cause the war that Administration so apprehend; but was there any real occasion for an additional force in this kingdom, when ministers well know how soon 3000 can be raised by giving away commissions.

He saw plainly what kind of œconomy we are to expect from the mock battles that are fought here with wooden swords on that subject.—He should, however, return seriously to the subject, by declaring that while we possess the internal force of our Volunteers—those Volunteers which have served some men as a ladder to climb to popularity, though now they kick it from under them; he was clear of opinion so large a standing army was quite unnecessary in Ireland, and that the hurrying the House into a report after so tedious a sitting in the committee looks unfavourably. He should therefore move as an amendment, “That the words 9000 be inserted instead of 12,000.”

Hon. Mr. *Pole* rose to second the motion—he declared he had his doubts, whether the present administration meant well to this kingdom—they had talked a great deal of their good intentions; but sure silence is no great indication of good intentions—he had the honour of knowing the Right Hon. Secretary; he knew him to be a man of honour—but he had expected to have seen ere now a plan of œconomy from him; if he promises such a plan, I’ll vote for the 12,000 men; I would rather have his promises than his silence, and his plan than his promise. Oeconomy, I am afraid, is not his object: an Hon. Gentleman the other day had a job to carry; he wanted 1000*l.* for the repair of a port (Sligo) when we were told by a gentleman high in office, that the returns from that port do not exceed its expences, 10*l.* annually—From what we have seen of the present administration, we can have no great expectation of retrenchment, and I am authorized to say, that if the late administration had continued, we should have now on our table a plan of retrenchment.

Right Hon. Mr. *Pelham*.—The Hon. Gentleman has held out such a very tempting bait, that it is impossible for me to remain silent; he says, that if government can shew a plan of œconomy, they shall have his support. I am not very fond of making promises in public or private life, but this I can assure the Hon. Gentleman, and the House, that it is the intention of government

to manage the national revenues with the utmost frugality, and to make every possible saving in the different departments.

It is not for me to doubt the good intentions of a former government; on the contrary, I believe that government had the very best disposition towards this country; but I must say, that in the offices I find no trace of any plan of retrenchment, except in the barrack department, for which much praise is due. At present I think government will have an opportunity of making a very great saving in the extraordinaries of the army.

Mr. *O'Hara* did not imagine the Hon. Gentleman would attack the motion he made the other night, by calling it a job—it was no job—it was only to enlarge the quay of Sligo—He allowed, Sligo was not considerable for its imports; its chief trade was in its exports. He said, that it had been his intention to move an amendment to the resolution before the House, in hopes of making some saving for the public, in a manner not liable to objection from either side of the House; and that though he had voted against the address which first introduced the subject of the military establishment, as not using the ordinary terms of compliment, not expressing one principal motive for the reduction, nor any attention to the common interests of the empire, yet, he must not be supposed to relinquish his wish for economy. He then said, that his object had been to reduce our number of regiments, but not our number of men, that we might have our establishment complete, without the expence of officers of many regiments. But he found the regiments intended were not to be skeleton regiments; and that the saving between the regiments intended, and such as he was to have recommended, would not produce a greater saving than about 12,000*l.* a year, and that it was not worth while to distress the officers of a few regiments, by reducing them to half-pay, in order to make such a saving; that it was our business to consider the two kingdoms as united in interest, and our army as the army of the empire; for if we had no natural connexion with Great Britain, what would we not give for such an ally.

Mr. *Pole* contended that the grant to Sligo was a job; for a gentleman high in office had declared that the expences were as great as the revenue.

Col. *Wynne* corroborated what Mr. *O'Hara* had said.

Mr. *Griffith* said, the questions of retrenchment and reduction had been so often and so ably treated in that House, that very little remained to be urged by any one, who wished to avoid the beaten track of argument on those ungrateful subjects. One thing had, however, occurred to him, which had been overlooked by every gentleman who had taken part in this or in former debates, and that was the gross inconsistency of government. In England, the minister had thought proper to flatter

the kingdom with the reduction of the standing army, because they knew it was a popular and constitutional measure, and because they were convinced that their very existence as a ministry depended on their obtaining the good opinion and confidence of the people.

But, Sir, they have no such apprehensions for the people of Ireland; they think that as long as they can maintain a venal majority in this House, they may laugh at the murmurs of the people; and though they have not even the shadow of an argument to produce in favour of the immense and unnecessary army which they wish to load this kingdom with, they sit secure in a decided majority.—But, Sir, since we are to be overwhelmed with an intolerable expence, let us endeavour to find out some means for the support of it. It is not unusual, even of late years, (and he said it was certainly the practice in former days,) when the people voted a supply to government, to add to it some popular and favourite wish. He said, it was not his intention to embarrass the Right Hon. Secretary with any amendment for this purpose; but before the supply was granted, he wished to hear the sentiments of the Treasury-bench on a very important subject to this country, he meant the protecting duties, on which depended the very being of manufactures and commerce in this kingdom, and without which our free trade would be a dead letter. He said, that he thought an explanation on this subject the more necessary, as the answer which an honourable and very respectable gentleman (Mr. Hartley) had received from a Right Hon. Gentleman, who was considered the first authority in this country in commercial matters, (Mr. Foster) to a question which he had asked relative to protecting duties, was by no means satisfactory—It, therefore, became necessary for the House to have the matter explained.

Mr. *Griffith* continued to observe, that a great deal had been said with respect to gratitude to England; that, for his part, he hoped he felt and practised that virtue as much as any man, but, he confessed, he thought he had lately heard the word misapplied. We were all sensible of the long political servitude we had suffered under from England, but when the report of the committee, that was now enquiring into the state of our trade and manufactures should be made to this House, he believed he should hear no more of gratitude to England, because it would be seen by that report, that the political tyranny of Great Britain over this country, had been lenity itself to this infamous system of commercial oppression.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* said, that if the Right Hon. Secretary had a wish to economise, he had no opposition to fear from the courtly gentlemen who sat around him, for such was their

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complaisance to secretaries, that they would not contradict him even in the thing which of all others they least loved—*œconomy*.

This was the third time he had voted for a reduction of the army:—It is there a considerable saving may be made; it is a large field; it will strike at the root of expences, and tend in a great measure to the equalization of the revenue.

Captain *Burgh* declared himself against the motion: why not leave the army on the same footing it was 15 years ago? the expences of it centre in the kingdom—your revenue is annually increasing from 100,000*l.* to 200,000*l.*—England has given convoys to your commerce, from country to country, without any expence to you; and why not support an army?—'tis the army of the empire.

Mr. *Dudley Hussy* was of opinion, that the question came to this point; can the circumstances of this nation afford 12,000 men? can any man lay his hand on his heart, and say, that 9000 men are not sufficient for its defence?

Mr. *George Pönsonby* never heard the late administration had formed any plan of *œconomy*; if they had, why not brought forward now, by some of their friends, and laid on the table?

Mr. *Pole* rose to explain; he did not say that they had formed a plan, but he had authority to say, that if they had remained, a plan would have now been on the table of the House.

Major *Doyle*.—There are two points which I think are universally admitted—first, that we make a part of the empire; and second, that we should furnish our quota of defence; the hand of *œconomy* then can only be extended to the pay of our establishment; where are we to begin? is it with the *vast revenue* of the subaltern, or the *enormous salary* of the private soldier? Who will desire to deprive of subsistence the hoary veteran, who in many a well fought field has exposed himself for his country's service? or the brave young man, who returns home covered with wounds, and deprived of constitution, but relying on his country's generosity, that she will not abandon those, who in the day of danger never abandoned her? Who will set before us the regulations of a despotic monarch, the King of Prussia, as examples for the imitation of a free people? No man then I am sure, will wish to distress or injure our brave soldiers and fellow-citizens; but I will point out to gentlemen on this side of the House, where an attack may be made with success. I have intelligence of a large flying party of the enemy, which, though well paid, are ill armed for defence; they are chiefly composed of foreign mercenaries, and as the opposite general is a skilful and experienced man, I think he will be more ready to sacrifice them, than hazard his native troops; and my opinion is, that they may be *cut off to a man*. The party I speak of is the band of pensioners; let us attack them and I doubt not of victory; and as they have been common mo-

roders and despoilers of our country, if we succeed, let them be cut off without mercy.

I will therefore, at a convenient time, move to have the pension list taken into consideration.

Hon. *James Brown* spoke against the amendment, and said we were running the race of ruin.

Mr. *Kearney* said, whatever the circumstances of the nation might have been formerly, so as to require a standing army, to repel a foreign invasion, and prevent the rising of our own people to join the enemy, no such thing was now to be apprehended; for upon the late rumour in Munster, that there was a landing of the enemy, the people were very much terrified, and gave the soldiers all the refreshments they could procure on their march; no such apprehension should any longer exist in the mind of any gentleman. If France had ever intended to invade this kingdom, she would never have disbanded her brigade.

Mr. *Molyneux* proposed to the Secretary the striking off the deputy of the judge advocate—it was a useless employment, and not known in England—there was scarcely any considerable military employment in this kingdom to which there was not annexed a deputy. A reform has been proposed in the revenue; and there is room for reduction on the staff establishment.

General *Luttrell* said, there was no army in Europe of 10 or 12000 men, had so few staff officers—two lieutenant generals, and three major generals—In 1769, there were five general officers besides the commander in chief. The gentleman himself had been in the military line, and he should have informed himself better, before he talked of the staff establishment.

Mr. *Molyneux*, in reply, said he had a noble lord in his eye, (Lord Charlemont) who had gone through more reviews than sixteen generals, and before whom he had the honour of being reviewed, and no general of them all could go through it better.

General *Luttrell* declared he did not make any allusion.

Sir *Henry Hartstonge* declared he would vote with government on this question, if the generals, lieutenant generals, and major generals would vote for the amendment.

Mr. *Parsons*.—Administration has declared itself a friend to economy. Is not a reduction of the army economy? and why do they oppose it? because they are not friends to retrenchment; they talk of it, and nothing more. My great objection is, that it is unconstitutional to keep a larger army in the kingdom, than what is absolutely necessary for its defence—it is only on a principle of necessity, that a standing army is at all tolerable. He said that it was repugnant to the constitution to keep up a standing army in time of peace; that it was never attempted to be supported in England by the most daring ministry, but on pretence

of necessity; and wished to see this administration, who professed economy, would deign to practise it.

The question was then put,

Ayes for the amendment, — 34

Noes against it, — 106

Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Denis Browne, and Mr. Molyneux.

Tellers for the Noes, Major Doyle, and Mr. O'Hara.

Mr. *Warburton* then proposed another amendment, "because, on the 20th of November, 1782, there were 8219 effective men in this kingdom."

On the question being put, that the amendment do stand part of the resolution, it was negatived without a division.

Then the question was put, that the House do agree to the report of the committee, "That 12,000 men are necessary for the defence of this kingdom."—It was carried in the affirmative.

Mr. *Skeffington* reported from the select committee, nominated for the trial of the Down election, "That Lord Kilwarlin was duly elected to represent the county of Down. That the conduct of Richard Annelley, Esq; High Sheriff of the county of Down, was highly legal and impartial. That the petition of the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, and others, complaining of an undue election, was ill-founded, vexatious and frivolous."

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* desired that the Clerk should read a resolution of the House, entered into early in the session.—Resolution read.

"That if any person prefer a petition, complaining of an undue election, and that such petition should prove to be frivolous and vexatious, the House should pass a censure on the petitioner."

Sir *John Parnell* said, in his opinion the greatest censure was the heavy expence that would fall on them.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* said that the petition went not only against the sitting members, but alledged the heaviest charges against the sheriff, an honourable and very worthy member of that House.—He then moved, "That the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, and the rest of the petitioners, whose names are signed to the petition, do attend this House to-morrow morning, in custody of the Serjeant at Arms."

Lord *Kilwarlin* expressed a very earnest wish that Mr. *Fitzgibbon* would withdraw the motion, as it would distress him very much, that any censure should be passed on the Right Honourable Petitioner, or on those gentlemen who presented the separate petition. Every allowance should be made for their situation; and he appealed to the candour and humanity of the House for

their lenity on the occasion. That for his part, he would not wish to receive costs, if the House should determine to award him the expences of the petition, which seemed to be the general idea of gentlemen; but if a mulct was thought necessary, and would be insisted upon by the House, he would rather wish it should be confined in allowing the Right Honourable Petitioner to give a sum of money to the infirmary of the county of Down.—Several other members spoke in favour of Mr. Stewart, some alledging in mitigation, he had disavowed the petition.

Honourable *Richard Annesley* said he was perfectly satisfied.—He was glad the inquiry had gone on; as he had an opportunity of clearing his character.—He begged it might be withdrawn.

Mr. *Brownlow* submitted to the House, if the report of the committee was not censure enough, it was surely a very heavy censure. He entered into a panegyric of the great character of Mr. Stewart, and hoped it would be withdrawn.

Mr. *Annesley* begged of the gentleman not to press his motion; Mr. Stewart had repeatedly declared he did not know the contents of the petition.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* said, that the two voluminous petitions which had been presented against the sitting member, and the sheriff, by Mr. Stewart, must be fresh in every man's memory; that there was not a possible charge that could be made against those Honourable Gentlemen which had not been stuffed into them; and now when they have been proved false, gentlemen think that the authors should be suffered to escape without punishment. For my part, continued he, I think I am bound to make an example; for I introduced into this House a bill laying very great pains and penalties on any returning officer, who should be found guilty of improper conduct in an election or return. If the Honourable Gentleman who is sheriff of the county of Down, had been found guilty of the charges contained in the petition, he would have suffered those pains and penalties, and would have been expelled this House; and now after the petitioners have failed, and after the gentleman's integrity has been proved by the verdict of a most impartial jury, they come with a flimsy story of being mistaken, and the petitioner having inadvertently set his name to the petition. But did he inadvertently prosecute it?—I am for dealing equal justice to all. If the sheriff had been guilty of the charges, I would have punished him; as he is innocent, I would punish those who have preferred a petition, *ill-founded, frivolous, and vexatious*, at least I would have the petitioner publicly disclaim at the bar, the charges of his petition.

The *Prime Serjeant* (Mr. Kelly) said, that as the validity of the election and the honour of the sheriff were fully established, he could not think it necessary that a person of Mr. Stewart's conse-

quence should be dragged to the bar like a criminal; for his part he could not sit in the House to see it. He spoke highly of the respectable character of Mr. Stewart.

Serjeant *Metge* spoke to a point of order—it was not in the power of the gentleman to withdraw his motion, without leave of the House—In this the Speaker concurred.

Secretary *Pelham* explained the rules of the English House of Commons in these cases.

Right Honourable *George Ogle*.—I would not do injustice to any man, but it would grieve me to the heart, to see a man, whose character we look up to, who possesses private virtues, in as high a degree as he does public spirit—a man who has been for a series of years an honour to this House—to see such a man brought to the bar as a criminal, would, in my opinion, be disgraceful to this House, and be a shame to every member who would consent to it—For my part, I am against the motion.

Sir *John Parnell* then moved, that the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, the petitioner, complaining of an undue return for knights of the shire for the county of Down, do make satisfaction to the sitting members, and sheriff of said county, by paying the costs incurred by them on account of the said petition.—Carried in the affirmative.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* moved, that the other petitioners be ordered to attend this House this day se'nnight, in custody of the Serjeant at Arms.

Lord *Kilwarlin* begged he would withdraw it.

Mr. *Beresford* thought the dignity of the House was concerned in this affair; hoped the House would support its own dignity, and declared if those were not ordered to attend, he would move for a repeal of the act for regulating controverted elections.

Mr. *Scott* paid Lord *Kilwarlin* the highest compliments for his generous and gentleman-like conduct in this business.

Mr. *Prime Serjeant* thought, that as Mr. Stewart was excused, there should be no distinction; it would be highly improper in the House, because Mr. Stewart had a large fortune, that no censure should pass against him; but they would censure people who were not so affluent. He declared himself against their being brought to the bar.

Mr. *Monk Mason* said, no man respected Mr. Stewart more than he, or was better pleased with the decision of the House; but he had heard the strangest law logic from the learned gentleman that ever had been uttered. “Don’t, says the learned gentleman, drag to your bar a great and respectable person like a criminal—respect his character, and let him escape.” “Don’t, says

the learned gentleman, call before you poor men, it would be cruel to take them from their homes, and put them to the expence of appearing at your bar." The inference is, neither punish rich offenders nor poor offenders, but let your resolutions remain a dead letter. Is this the learned gentleman's way of arguing in the court's *great cause*.

Mr. *Jones* hoped the House would not oblige them to be brought to the bar; he knew them, they were gentlemen of feelings and of fortune.

Mr. *Cuffe* said, as they were men of fortune, they could come to town more comfortably.

Ordered to attend at the bar, in custody of the Serjeant at Arms, this day week.

Green and Plunket, constables, and Small, the plaintiff, were brought to the bar, for arresting a witness summoned on an election trial, when it appearing they had let the prisoner go, on producing the summons; they were discharged.

The House resumed the report from the committee of supply, went through the report, and adjourned.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1783.

Lord *Delvin* moved for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors. Leave was given.

The *Attorney General* laid before the House some papers which had been directed on a former day, and which were now ordered to lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* moved, that the proper officer do lay before the House, the particulars of the sum of 52,744*l.* under the head of exceedings, in the paper No. 3. Also the accounts of sums paid under the head of concordatums.—Ordered.

Sir *John Blaquiere* presented a petition from the working silk manufacturers of Dublin. I have, said he, enquired into the truth of the fact set forth in this petition, and find the manufacturers are in a very distressful situation, and deserving the consideration of this House—Received and referred to a committee.

Right Honourable *John Foster* moved, "That it be an instruction to the committee appointed to consider of the ways and means for raising a supply for his majesty, to take into their con-

sideration all goods, wares, and merchandizes exported out of this kingdom." Ordered.

He then moved, "That the committee be likewise instructed to take into consideration all goods, wares, and merchandizes imported into this kingdom." Ordered.

He then moved for reading the order of the day.

Mr. *Corry* said,—on the first day of the session I offered an amendment to the address to his Majesty, congratulating his Majesty on his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, having auspiciously attained his one and twentieth year, but withdrew my motion then at the request of some respectable persons, giving notice that I should on another day move an address to his Majesty of that sort. I since mentioned that I should move it as on this day, [Here he was interrupted by a clamour for the order of the day]—If, continued he, the motion I have to propose, is thought improper, let it fall; but, I beseech you, gentlemen, not to scout out of the House an address to his Majesty; respect him, if not me."

General *Luttrell* hastily arose, saying,—are we to be threatened with the name of his Majesty, to induce us to lay aside the regular business of the day? If no one else will move the order of the day, I will.

Mr. *Corry* warmly replied,—If by the order of the day I am thus indecently precluded, in so disloyal and disrespectful a manner, from offering a measure neither improper nor unparliamentary to the House, I shall protest against such a precedent. If I am to be at all permitted to make my intended motion, I am willing not to press it now, but call on the Right Honourable Gentlemen on the other side of the House to know when, or what day they will permit me to make it; if not, I shall persist from day to day to make it, until the end of the session.—I am not one who am apt lightly to take up any subject; and by the blessing of God I will not lightly lay this down."

Mr. *Conolly*.—I think it is better to see the end of this matter at present: if the address is only a compliment to his Majesty, let it pass; though the nation may get nothing by it, it may be so much the better for the gentleman who makes it.

Mr. *Corry* rising to reply, he was stopped by the *Speaker*, who told him that as the order of the day was moved, that question must be put, and to that alone he could hear him.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* observed, that in a former bill of supply, it was provided, that when the produce of the duties appropriated to the interest of a loan then voted, should exceed the sum of 10,000*l.* the said overflowing should be applied to the purchase of debentures, by which the debt of the nation was lessened; he should therefore, for the same laudable purpose, on a future day, propose a sinking fund.

The House went into a committee of supply, the Right Honourable John Foster in the chair.

The *Attorney General* then proceeded to make the usual motions for the new and old additional duties on beer, ale, strong waters, tea, coffee, East India commodities, &c. to continue from the 25th of December, 1783, to the 25th of March, 1785. Previous to which he told the House, that as he proceeded, he would declare any alteration or new duty.

He said, that in order to encourage the breweries of Ireland, an additional duty of two shillings and seven-pence, per barrel of 31 gallons, was proposed to be laid on all ale and beer imported into this country from Great Britain, which exactly charged British beer on the whole 4s. 1d. the barrel, the amount of our inland excise.

Mr. *Hartley* expressed a wish, that the beer as well as every other manufacture of Great Britain was charged with the same duty in this kingdom as the like manufacture from hence paid in England,

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* said, that formerly one shilling per barrel was requested as a protection, but refused; and he thought great praise was due to those who proposed such an effectual protection as the present.

Sir *John Blaquiere* said, he rejoiced to see one protecting duty brought forward so fairly by the minister. He looked upon protecting duties as the great means of raising the kingdom to consequence: He said he was such an old fashioned fellow as to be perfectly satisfied with the old constitution, and thought that provided due attention was given to the encouragement of our trade and manufactures, this country might enjoy every blessing under that constitution, old as it was. He thought also that the system of British ministers towards Ireland was much altered for the better; he himself had been sent by a Lord Lieutenant that was extremely well supported and connected, to negotiate this very business in England, and the words of the British minister then were—"Don't attempt to touch the British brewery; to touch it is to injure the revenue of the state, and that you must not suppose we ever will consent to do." He therefore thought that the obligation to the present ministers for this favour was very great indeed.

Mr. *Pelham* said, that in laying before the House a state of the nation, he had declared that he had no intention of burthening the subject with any new tax, and hoped that the duties upon foreign malt liquor, and the regulations in favour of the Irish brewer, would not be considered as a tax; he was not at all anxious about them in that view, but only as they would protect our brewery.

The *Attorney General* then said, that as the duties on malt liquors were at present levied, they affected the poor only, who

were obliged to repair to the ale-house for their malt liquor; he would therefore propose to lay a tax on all private families who brewed for themselves, in proportion to what might reasonably be deemed their consumption, at the rate of four shillings and one-penny for every inhabitant in the house: those houses however excepted, who had less than three hearths.

Colonel *Hayes* observed, that this duty would be at once oppressive and inefficacious—preventing the honest farmers or country gentlemen from brewing their own beer, thus subjecting them to the laws of excise, would be a heavy grievance to them, without the least advantage to the poorer class: and as to encouraging the brewing trade, he doubted much how far it would answer that end; as the sort of beer usually brewed by private persons for their own consumption, was of a quality much nearer that imported from England, than what is usually brewed for sale in this kingdom. If a tax were devised, which might assist the poor, and fall only on the rich, he would never wish to oppose it: but as far as his knowledge of this country extended (and he had moreover lived in a country famous for its malt liquor) the injury sustained by the farmer, who must pay for his farming servants and children, would be greater than any advantage the Right Honourable Gentleman could suppose to be gained by any other class.—He reprobated the mode in which this tax must be collected, as subjecting the houses of private persons to be entered by excise officers and declared that though he had the highest respect and regard for the Honourable Gentleman at the head of the revenue, he hoped never to see the houses of his countrymen open to the officers in inferior departments.

This duty was also disapproved by Gen. *Cunningham*, Mr. *George Montgomery*, Mr. *Pole*, Mr. *Molyneux*, Mr. *Kearney*, Mr. *Thomas Burgb*, Sir *Edward Newenham*, and several other gentlemen, because no mode of levying it had been mentioned.

The *Attorney General* declared he would not hurry the measure without giving time for its due consideration. He would willingly put it off 'till Monday next, when he would come prepared with a proper plan for its collection.

Sir *John Blaquiere* asked if the Right Honourable Gentleman would this day go into the business of the protecting duties?

The *Attorney General* answered,—That as a Right Honourable Gentleman, whom all the House respected, had taken up this business, and from a heavy family misfortune was prevented from attending in his place, he should not take it out of his hands, but wait a few days, and keep the committee of ways and means open for the purpose. As to the inconvenience that might arise from the mode of collecting the tax on private brewing, it deserved the most serious consideration; and wished a total alteration in

this branch of the revenue might be effected by a malt tax, as in England. The other new additional duties he would propose, were

Sixpence per gallon on rum.

Eightpence per gallon on brandy and geneva.

Mr. *Corry* asked if any alteration was intended in what related to East India goods, as he intended to bring in a bill relative to the importation of these goods from the East Indies or other countries; and would have already brought the business forward but for a delay, from whose fault he knew not, of papers he had called for in the beginning of the session.

It was answered that no alteration was intended.

The Right Honourable *John Foster* being chosen a knight of the shire for the county of Louth, and also a Burgess for the borough of Sligo, in the county of Sligo, made his election to serve for the said county of Louth.—Right Honourable the *Speaker* ordered a new writ for the borough of Sligo.

Ordered, That the Accountant General do lay before this House an account of the quantum of money paid in the year ending lady-day, 1783, on Exchequer acquittances, by the several collectors of his Majesty's revenue, distinguishing each collection.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1783.

A Message from the Lords by Dr. Walker and Mr. Vesey, two of the Masters in Chancery, that the Lords had passed an engrossed bill, intitled an act for indemnifying such persons as have acted for the service of the public, in advising or carrying into execution a proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant and Council of this kingdom, bearing date the 13th day of November, 1782, and also by an act of council, or entry in the council books, bearing date the 9th day of June, 1783; to which they desire the concurrence of this House.

On a motion that several persons who had signed the city of Cork petition, be ordered to attend at the bar of this House, in order to substantiate their charges—this was objected to, and on the question being put, it was carried in the negative.

Mr. *Chatterton* in order to prevent any improper use being made, of the present intended insolvent bill, moved, that the jailors throughout this kingdom, do make a return on oath, of the several persons in their custody for debt, on the 10th day of November instant—He declared himself a friend to the bill, but this was to prevent any unfair advantage that might be taken by a fraudulent debtor—Ordered accordingly.

Sir *Edward Newenham* presented a petition from the working silk-weavers.—Ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. *O'Hara* moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent frivolous and vexatious arrests.—Leave given.

Mr. *St. George* presented the accounts of the barrack-board, pursuant to order.

The House resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, Mr. *Foster* in the chair.

The *Attorney General* gave notice, that he had no new duties to move at that time; when he had he would particularly point them out. He then moved the old duties, which being agreed to, the House resumed.

Mr. *Foster* reported having made some progress, and desired leave sit again.

Mr. *Corry* made several severe observations on the conduct of some gentlemen, who, on the preceding night, had, by insisting on the order of the day, in a most indecent, not to say, unparliamentary manner, prevented him from making his intended motion for an address to his Majesty, a mode of proceeding, which if drawn into precedent, might always be practised when any motion was intended that was not agreeable to the gentlemen on the other side of the House; for which reason he found himself under the necessity of protesting against it, as a breach of the privilege of free discussion and liberty of speech, which the Speaker demanded from the throne at the beginning of the session. He gave notice, that he should on Wednesday next move an address to his Majesty, on the Prince of Wales having attained his one-and-twentieth year.

Sir *John Parnell* presented a petition from several manufacturers of the Queen's County, setting forth that landlords were much interested in the price of wool, and that they humbly conceived that it would promote the interest of trade if there was an encouragement given for the exportation of wool. That in 1778, 122,000 packs of wool were exported; and in the last year, 66,000.—Referred to a committee.

General *Cunningham* adverted to the duty that was on the last night proposed to be laid on private breweries, and its being suggested that the duty would be collected like the malt duty; he requested to be informed what that mode was?

The *Attorney General* answered, that he brought the English act with him; but the duty might be collected in another way. The principal objection that had been made of the excise officer entering private houses might be obviated by a composition, or

the tax collected by hearth-money collectors as the duty on carriages: I have, however, continued he, since yesterday, thought of an alteration in the mode of ascertaining this duty, that I hope will be more agreeable, which is, that each family that brews, where there are three or four hearths, shall pay 5s. a year, and where there are upwards of four hearths, 10s. a year.

Mr. *R. Longfield* said, that he had considered the principle of the tax. He thought other gentlemen would think as he did; and he was satisfied it would be scouted out of the House.

The *Attorney General* said he could not forbear answering the Hon. Gentleman. If he did him the honour of adverting to his very words, it might be found, that he was not disposed to press this duty, but as a measure tending to encourage the breweries of the kingdom. He would give up any interest he might be supposed to have with administration in that business. Unconnected and independent, he rose as a private member of that House. He was of opinion it would encourage the breweries, but did not wish to press it, if it was not perfectly agreeable to the House.

Mr. *Cornelius Bolton* presented a petition from several persons concerned in the woollen manufacture in and about the town of Carrick-on-Suire, praying encouragement to this manufacture, by protecting duties.—Ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. *Foster* moved, that a committee of the whole House might be appointed to sit on the state of the Portugal trade. That it should be taken up in the most public and ample manner; and as there were evidences to be produced, he proposed that the committee should meet on Monday at two o'clock.—Ordered.

MONDAY NOVEMBER 17, 1783.

The House in a committee on the Portugal business, Mr. Bolton in the chair.

Mr. Skies examined.—The evidence of this gentleman went to prove, that there were a great deal of low priced linens made use of in Portugal. The duty laid on in that country is 27 per cent. that the rates of the duties of goods imported into and exported from Portugal are entered in their book of rates; but that those who collect the duties are at liberty to charge at discretion the rates as they think proper on their own authority. That there is no mention made in their book of rates of Irish goods:—whatever linens are entered from Ireland are under the head of inferior holland. Mr. Skies then added, that with respect to woollens, camblots are principally the article of this kind used. He could not say that other woollen goods would not be admitted,

but at present none else were received from this country. Camblets, he said, were admitted regularly. He did apply to the officers, who told him the admission of woollen goods was disputed. On being asked from what country they got coarse linens, he replied, Hamburgh and France, from which places linens were imported into Portugal on lower duties than from Ireland. They also imported goods from Great Britain on the same terms they did twenty years ago. All persons almost in Portugal have some goods from England in their houses. Their colonies are supplied in a great measure by them, where they wear a kind of coarse stuff made on purpose. The Portuguese send to their colonies Colchester and Lancashire baize, also a great deal of coarse broad cloth of above five shillings per yard, and serges and shags. This gentleman further added, that since his being in Ireland, he had examined, with all the abilities he was master of, the several manufactures of baizes, stuffs and serges, and thinks the serges and stuffs are inferior to the English; for he had seen serges much better finished, and some serges of the same quality were three or four inches narrower than those of England. In answer to the shags exported, he believed the shags made formerly in Ireland were better than they are now, and that the English have a better method of finishing the shags than the Irish. The Portuguese consumption in the article of camblets had much declined, because the Portuguese who were once fond of wearing large cloaks of camblets, now wear large cloaks made of baize; yet the English still send camblets with their broad cloths. On comparing the English and Irish broad cloths together, he thought the English broad cloths were better finished, and believed they had finer wool in England. On being asked, would he take a venture over of woollen goods from Ireland to Portugal; he replied he would, but not of camblets, because they were better finished and better pressed in England; but if Portugal admitted woollens from Ireland, he certainly wished to take a cargo from hence. The reason of their being better finished in England, he attributed to the great consumption they had for such goods there, and consequently they could better afford to take more pains in finishing. The Portuguese, he said, made use of druggets, and he imagined Irish blankets would answer for that market, as well as linen, linen-yarn, cotton or frizes. The Portuguese, he said, took a great deal of corn from Ireland, but the poor peasants lived upon bread made of Indian corn, and they cultivated a great deal of corn themselves. He conceived they would derive a great advantage from a trade with this country; and there was a great deal of private trade carried on with America; and he knew no country from whence the Portuguese imported beef but from Ireland. They had salted pork from America, and they had

butter from England. He said that many persons made use of oil as a substitute for butter. Being questioned about salt, he said, that a number of private salt-works were carried on in Portugal, but the price of salt was under the controul of the crown, and it must be of a pure quality. That vessels are loaded with salt by rotation. That the crown does receive great revenues from the salt. That the duty on salt to foreigners is much more than to natives; as the port charges were something less. If a trade was established with Portugal, he believed the amount of their imports from Ireland would be 100,000*l.* per annum, probably might exceed that.—House resumed.

Mr. *Foster* reported some progress, and asked leave to sit again.
—Granted.

Mr. *Molyneux* apologized for having, inconsiderable as he was, given notice, that he should on this night move for an absentee tax, as he had imagined there was an absolute necessity that it should be moved while the committee of ways and means sat; but as he understood it was to be kept open on account of the protecting duties, he would defer his motion until next Monday, in hopes that gentlemen would turn a subject of such magnitude in their thoughts, and give him that assistance and support his inexperience so much required. He also mentioned, that on Saturday next, he would make another motion, of which he had already given notice, respecting an addition to the salary of the Lord Lieutenants of this kingdom.

Mr. *Hartley* presented a petition to the House from the corporation of hatters, complaining of the great exportation of rabbit-skin, which though worth eleven shillings per pound, was only subject to a duty of two pence halfpenny; and that British hats were subject here to a trifling duty, while our hats were prohibited entry into England; and praying relief. Ordered, that the said petition be referred to the committee of ways and means.

Mr. *Hartley* then moved, that the proper officer do lay before the House, the quantity of rabbit-skins and furs exported from this kingdom; and also the quantity of hats made of said fur annually imported. Ordered accordingly.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* observed, that though it was generally allowed that the number of judges in our courts was too small for the vast business in which they were engaged, yet government, for political purposes, suffered even a deficiency of that number, to the manifest detriment of the public; he therefore gave notice, that he would move an address to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to complete the number of the judges.

Lord *Kilwarlin* moved, that the Clerk should read the order of the House, requiring the attendance of the persons petitioning against him; which being done, he moved that the same be discharged.

He was seconded by Mr. *Ward*.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* said, that in moving the order now in question, he thought he had done his duty, and that having acquitted himself in that point, he was perfectly satisfied, and indifferent as to the manner in which the House should now dispose of the order.

Sir *Henry Hartstonze* said, that to suffer persons to present groundless and vexatious petitions with impunity, was trifling with the order of the House, and treating with great cruelty the persons petitioned against, he would therefore oppose the discharging of the order. On a division there appeared,

For discharging the order, ——— 84

Against it, ——— 41

Tellers for the ayes, Lord *Kilwarlin* and Mr. *Ward*.

———noes, Mr. *Fitzgibbon* and Mr. *Marcus Beresford*.

Lord *Delvin* moved, that the order expressing the censure of the House against such persons as should present frivolous, vexatious, or groundless petitions, should be discharged, as the last resolution of the House had in effect destroyed its operation.

He was seconded by Mr. *Marcus Beresford*, who said, that he entertained no doubt but the House would comply, as he would be ashamed to suppose the House a spectator of persons that would not deal impartial justice to all.

Mr. *Metge* hoped Lord *Delvin* would withdraw his motion, when he considered that the principal petitioner had been punished, by being ordered to pay the expences incurred by his petition, and the others were censured by the order having been on the journals, though now discharged.

Lord *Kilwarlin* again intreated gentlemen to let every trace of this business, so far as possible, be done away.

Lord *Delvin*'s motion was negatived without a division.

The House then resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, Right Hon. John Foster in the chair.

The *Attorney General* said, that in considering the nature of the tax by him proposed to be laid upon private families brewing for their own consumption, several difficulties had arisen, and as even the brewers, for whose benefit it was chiefly intended, were not well satisfied of its utility, he would for the present lay it aside; and recommended to gentlemen, that against the next session they would give the subject serious consideration, and come prepared to decide what alterations in the excise laws would be advantageous to the brewery of Ireland, and whether

any and what proportion of the excise should be laid upon malt.

Mr. *Busse*.—As I entertain a perfect respect for every opinion of the Right Hon. Gentleman who proposed this subject to the House, and who now, impelled by his regard to the public, desires to have it referred to more mature consideration, I did endeavour to collect my thoughts upon this subject, and will, if the committee shall not think it too great an intrusion upon their time, lay the result before them—[hear! hear!] It appears to me extremely easy to put an end to all fraud in this branch of the revenue, to protect the public brewer, and to lay the tax equally upon all persons who consume malt liquors. If this can be shewn to the satisfaction of the House, I am convinced when the question comes on, it will have the support of every member, for there is no man so illiberal as to enter into the paltry consideration of what he can save by letting the tax lie in its present situation, nor can any objection be made on behalf of the hereditary revenue; for what will be taken from that with one hand, will be amply restored with the other.

I would propose to take off two shillings per barrel from ale, and lay three pence farthing per stone on malt, by which means the whole burthen of the addition that would thus be made to the revenue, would fall just where it ought to fall, on the opulent and on the fraudulent. Mr. Smith, that judicious writer, in his inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations, speaking of the malt tax in England, seems to consider it as one of the most equitable and productive taxes that that wise nation has imposed; nay, he goes so far as to think that great advantage would arise by laying the whole excise of beer and ale upon the malt.—As to our own country, I am convinced it would be the most powerful check to fraud, not only in the brewery but in the distillery, as the difficulty of making a large quantity of malt is greater than that of brewing or distilling a large quantity of liquor. If the idea I have mentioned should be received, even the temptation of fraud will be the less, for by dividing the tax between the maltster and the brewer, either of them can by fraud gain but half of the excise now paid, though he will run the risk of the whole penalty on being detected; and as to the hereditary revenue, though fourpence halfpenny will be taken off every barrel of ale, yet if the excise on double the number of those which now pay duty shall then be received (and my opinion is, that it will be much more than doubled) the hereditary revenue suffers no diminution.

Sir *Henry Cavendish*.—If the Hon. Member would exercise his talents to devise means of taking off some of the taxes which oppress this country, we should be much more obliged to him than for his ingenuity in laying additional taxes on.

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Mr. *Buſbe*.— This is not a new tax, for what is laid on one part of the manufacture is taken off the other.

The *Provoſt* ſaid, he was ever averſe to extending the laws of exciſe, and never would conſent to ſuch an extenſion but in caſe of urgent neceſſity ; to the preſent plan he objected, that it was in ſome ſenſe a land tax, as being laid upon the produce of the land. That it was a tax upon the induſtry of the farmer, and that it rendered private houſes ſubject to odious viſits of the exciſe-man at all hours, which he conſidered as an high infringement of the ſubject's liberty. He therefore hoped that the introduction of exciſemen into private houſes would make no part of the preſent plan, which had ſome advantageous circumſtances, particularly as being more equitable. He ſaid that he was always averſe from giving power to any revenue officer to come into any gentleman's houſe to ſearch, as it would be injurious to liberty. In 1733, Sir Robert Walpole propoſed an exciſe on tobacco, and though the regulation was a very good one, yet it was oppoſed, as it affected the conſtitution. He ſaid, he had been detained for ſome days from the Houſe by ſevere illneſs, and that he had from that cauſe been repreſented in the public prints as one, who, though the repreſentative of a great trading city, neglected to attend the intereſts of his country, and his own duty in parliament ; he appealed to the Houſe what weight ought to be given to ſuch a charge, when in three and twenty years he had been abſent but upon one queſtion of any importance, and that upon every queſtion he was known to deliver his opinion freely.

Mr. *Buſbe* explained, that he had no intention of making private houſes liable to the viſits of exciſemen.

Mr. *Dennis Brown*.—If I had a houſe, and a revenue officer was to come to it ; I would firſt aſk him what he wanted, and ſecondly, I ſhould blow his brains out.

Mr. *Buſbe*.—It never was my idea to run revenue-officers into ſo much danger, or preſent to the Hon. Gentleman perſons to whom he has ſuch a ſtrong antipathy.

The *Attorney General* then proceeded to acquaint the Houſe, that in order to provide for the 15,000*l.* granted for premiums on the ſale of manufactures, he moved, “ That the allowance or diſcount on the duties of cuſtoms and exciſe, for prompt payment of ſix and ten per cent. be diſcontinued.”

Mr. *Hartley* ſaid,—I am ſurprized after the declaration made a few nights ago, by the Right Hon. Gentleman on the floor, (Mr. Pelham) that there would be no new taxes propoſed in this committee, to hear it now moved for. I cannot but conſider the ſtriking off ſo conſiderable an allowance made to the merchants as a new tax, nor can any modification make it otherwiſe, as thereby he certainly pays more duties than he did before, and

that too in several instances, must fall on the materials of manufactured silk and many others.

The *Attorney General* wished, if the Hon. Gentleman disliked this mode of proceeding for the encouragement of our manufacturers, he would propose some substitute.

Mr. *Hartley* replied,—I shall not propose any, for I acknowledge myself no friend to the manner of disposing of that 15,000*l.* by premiums on the sale of manufactures, being clearly of opinion, that private grants to such manufacturers as merited encouragement would be more effectual; it is tampering with our distresses should either mode be adopted, for I am certain that nothing but protecting duties can serve us in this matter; and I lament to see an English interest constantly outweigh every other consideration. I am told, indeed, that the committee of ways and means will be kept open, but when the supply is completed, I have little hope from what will be done afterwards.

Mr. *Griffith* asked, how were the grants provided for in former times when the encouragement to our manufacturers was paid them in sums of money? And will the Right Hon. Gentleman now again fairly answer, 'is the committee of ways and means to be kept open for the protecting duties; and if so, what day will that business be suffered to come on?

Mr. *Foster* said, that after the committee of ways and means should arrange the provisions for the supply, the committee would still be kept open for the purpose of commercial regulations.

Mr. *Warburton* contended that the protecting duties should now be agitated, so as to make a part of the supply, else he had little hopes of them when the business of government was done.

Major *Doyle* expressed his disapprobation of the measure for two reasons; the first it was a new tax, and the second as it was intended as a substitute for protecting duties.

The *Attorney General* said, the whole question was,—will you, or will you not provide at the rate of 12,000*l.* per ann. for the payment of premiums on our manufactures? And what, continued he, has this to say to protecting duties?

Major *Doyle* replied,—it has to protecting duties, because it is meant to defeat them: and we wish to connect and tack them to the present supply.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* said, he did not understand what was meant; if any thing at all was meant by protecting duties, and be they what they would, they had not the least connexion with the present question.

Mr. *Griffith* complained that his queries were not answered, particularly in what manner former grants were provided for.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* replied,—let the gentleman read over the old money bills.

Captain *Thomas Burgh* said, that it was for want of providing for grants that the great national debt was incurred.

Mr. *Longfield* said, that this was a great and heavy tax on the trade of the kingdom, and could not be considered in any other light than a new duty. He said the striking off the allowance was a heavy tax on the merchant, and therefore ought not to be agreed to.

Mr. *Felbam* said, it did not affect sugars, spirits or wines, these allowances being already struck off those articles.

Mr. *Longfield* said, this duty was entirely a surprize on the House, and that it would have been candid in administration to have given a day or two notice of it.

The question being put, the motion passed without a division.

The *Attorney General* then moved, that an additional duty of 2l. 10s. per hundred weight be laid on all steel, iron and steel wire, imported into this kingdom.

Mr. *Hartley* declared, that this being a duty for the protection of our manufactures, it should have his hearty concurrence.—

Passed *nem. con.*—Adjourned.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1783.

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* presented a petition from the committee appointed to enquire into the petition of the brewers and distillers, setting forth the high price of malt, and praying for an address to his Majesty, to lay on an embargo to prevent the exportation of malt for a limited time.

Mr. *Hartley* presented a petition of the woollen and worsted manufacturers of the city and liberties of Dublin, setting forth their distresses, occasioned by foreign nations being permitted to pour into this country their manufactures, and to draw from us our raw materials, essentially necessary for the support of our own, and praying that the House will grant such duties as will effectually protect our manufactures, and prevent the exportation of our raw material.

Sir *Edward Newenham* presented a petition of the journeymen hatters of the county and city of Dublin, and their distressed brethren throughout Ireland, setting forth their grievances, arising from the exportation of our raw materials of rabbits fur and rabbits skins furred, carried on to Britain duty free, and from thence to France, whereby France can supply the American markets, while the poorer sort of people here are precluded from purchasing the manufacture of their country, owing to the exorbitant price raw materials bear, and which at this time has so drained this country,

that there is not stuff enough to employ the artificers, and that English hats imported run on an average of 50l. per cent. against the exportation of our wrought manufacture into Britain, and that they conceive that a duty, not more than three nor less than two shillings in the pound on the exportation of rabbits fur, and not less than two nor more than five shillings per dozen on rabbits skins furred, and an equalizing duty on all hats, would effectually relieve petitioners, and praying relief by such protecting duties as aforesaid.

Referred to a committee of ways and means.

A bill, entitled an act for the relief of his Majesty's subjects in cases of frivolous or illegal arrests, was presented to the House and read the first time, and ordered to be read the second time on this day se'nnight.

Counsellor *James Fitzgerald* moved for leave to bring in a bill for setting aside erroneous judgments. He said that this was a bill which would materially secure the property of the subject; that it would cause an intermediate state between the judgments of the court and the appeal to the House of Lords. That in England the opinions of the twelve judges were taken before the final appeal. In Ireland the decisions of the court of exchequer were brought into the exchequer chamber before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the court of common pleas, and the Lord Chief Justice of the king's bench, where cases are argued at great expence to the parties. He did not mean to interfere with the jurisdiction of any of the courts; his idea was to have the opinion of twelve judges in cases of difficulty.

Sir *Samuel Bradstreet* said, the subject deserved consideration; and he therefore seconded the motion. Leave granted.

Mr. *Molyneux* observed, that there was an Hon. Gentleman who promised to bring on an enquiry into the fund for the maintenance of the provincial regiments. This brought up the Hon. Mr. *Brown*, who said, if agreeable, he would have it on Monday.

The Right Hon. the *Provost* presented a petition from the sail-cloth manufactory at Cork. He said, sail-cloth made there was of a superior quality to any other, and deserved encouragement; more especially as that manufacture was of great service to the navy of Great Britain, and the trade of the two kingdoms should be kept on a balance. That he should urge this point while there was a single man in the House; and now that our trade was free, every thing which tended to increase the navy of Ireland ought to receive encouragement. He also presented a petition from the woollen manufacturers of the city of Cork. The petition

set forth, that the manufacturers and their families were in very distressed circumstances.

Received, and referred to the committee of trade, appointed to take into consideration the state of the manufacturers.

The Right Honourable *John Foster*, according to order, reported from the committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to consider of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the resolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, where the same were read.

And the question being thereupon severally put, they were agreed to by the House, and are as follow :

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the several additional and other rates, duties and impositions herein after mentioned, shall be raised, levied, collected and paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, from the 25th day of December, 1783, to the 25th day of March, 1785, inclusive.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 2s. the barrel for and upon every thirty-two gallons of beer or ale, above the price of 6s. the barrel, and of 4d. the barrel for and upon every thirty-two gallons of beer or ale of the price of 6s. the barrel, or under, brewed within this kingdom between the 25th day of December, 1783, and the 25th day of March, 1785, by any common brewer, or in his vessels by any other person or persons who doth, or do, or shall sell or tap out beer or ale publicly or privately, such gallon to contain two hundred and seventy-two cubical inches, and one-fourth part of a cubical inch, be paid by the common brewer, or by such other person or persons respectively who shall brew, sell or tap out the same, and so proportionably for a greater or less quantity.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty be laid on all beer, ale and porter which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, after the rate of 4s. 1d. for every thirty-two gallons, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, to be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, customs and excise payable thereon by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 10d. per gallon for and upon every gallon of aqua vitæ, strong waters or spirits made or distilled within the kingdom for sale, be paid by the first maker or distiller thereof during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ per gallon be laid upon every gallon of brandy, strong waters and spirits perfectly made, and of spirits made and distilled of wine not above proof, that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, and so proportionably for a greater or less quantity; and for every gallon of foreign spirits, above the quantity of single spirits, that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, an additional duty shall be paid for such spirits, and shall be charged thereon in proportion to the duties payable for single spirits of the same denomination, according to the comparative degree of strength which such spirits so to be imported shall bear to single spirits of the same denomination.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a further additional duty of 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ per gallon be laid on all rum or other spirits of the growth and produce of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a further additional duty of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ per gallon be laid on all brandy, geneva and all other spirits that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except spirits of the growth and produce of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America, over and above all other duties now payable for the same.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ be laid on every pound of green tea, and of 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ on every pound of black bohea tea and other teas which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable for the same by any act or acts of parliament.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a further additional duty be laid on all teas imported into this kingdom which shall have been purchased at the India Company's sales in London for an higher price than 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ British, per pound, at the rate of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ per pound for every 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ that shall be paid for the same over and above the sum of 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ British, at the sales above-mentioned, during the time aforesaid, the price of the teas to be inserted in the cockets, and to be further ascertained by a reference to the sale-books of the East India Company, which the commissioners of the revenue are required to procure from time to time for the purpose above-mentioned.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ per yard be laid on all chintzes, callicoes and muslins, of the manufacture of China, Persia and the East-Indies, imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a further additional duty of 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ be laid on every yard of callico and

muslin that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 1s. 6d. per yard, be laid on all sorts of silks and stuffs made or manufactured in Persia, China or the East Indies, that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 4l. Sterling, per pound weight, be laid on all velvets and manufactures made of or mixed with silk, except those of Great Britain, China, Persia and the East-Indies, that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 3d. per pound weight, be laid on all coffee, chocolate and cocoa nuts that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a further additional duty of 2d. per pound, be laid on all coffee that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 20s. Sterling, be laid on every hundred weight of molasses; an additional duty of 20s. Sterling, on every hundred weight of treacle; an additional duty of 6d. per yard, on all foreign stuffs called romals, and all manufactures made of cotton, or of cotton and linen mixed, whether plain, painted or stained, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except the manufacture of Great Britain.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the following additional duties be laid on all damask towelling, napkins or cloths made of flax or hemp imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, not being of the manufacture of Great Britain; that is to say, a duty of 6d. per yard on all such goods at or under yard wide, and of 1s. per yard on all such goods from one yard to eight quarters wide, and of 2s. per yard on all such goods above eight quarters wide.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 1½d. per pound weight, be laid upon all hops that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid from Great Britain.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 1s. per hundred weight be laid on all flour, meal, bread and biscuit, except of the produce and manufacture of Great Britain, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 5l. 6s. per tun be laid upon all sorts of vine-

gar that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 12s. 6d. be paid by every person that doth or shall sell or tap out by retail any cider at any time during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1d. per gallon be laid on all cider that shall be sold or tapped out by retail, to be paid by the person who shall sell or tap out the same during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that a further additional duty of 5l. per cent. be laid upon all china, earthen, japanned or laquered ware, as valued or rated for custom by the book of rates, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid; and also on the several goods and manufactures, not being of the growth and produce or manufacture of Great Britain, herein after-named, as the same now stand rated for custom in the book of rates, or if unrated shall be valued on oath on the importer, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, over and above all other duties now payable for the same, viz. apparel, apples, bacon and hams, beads of glass, chocolate, cocoa nuts, coffee, cork, capers, cloves, currants, chefnuts, walnuts, small nuts, bugles, hulled barley, fans, hats (chip and straw), anchovies, sturgeon, pins, wrought ivory, olives, onions, prints and pictures, mace, nutmegs, wrought inkle, drugs not being for dyers use, elephants teeth, furs, all lacquered, japanned, gilt, painted, bronzed and enamelled ware, gloves of all sorts, almonds, anniseeds, cinnamon, liquorice, pepper, piamento, pruens, raisins, rice, saffron, succards, succus liquoritiæ, needles, thimbles, outnal thread, sisters thread, china and earthen ware, whited brown thread, and all other threads, haberdashery, hardware, toys, mermits, iron pots, scissars, snuff, tyles, shot, laces of cotton, thread, worsted or silk, groceries of all kinds, except sugars, oranges and lemons; lime, lemon and orange juice not being for dyers use, tape, foreign linens, and all manufactures of flax and hemp.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 1s. per ream be laid upon every ream of paper (except brown, blue and pressing paper) which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except of the manufacture of Great Britain.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a tax of 1s. per barrel be laid upon all herrings which shall be imported into this kingdom (except British herrings) during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 6d. per pack be laid upon all painted or playing cards that shall be manufactured or vended in this kingdom.

during the time aforesaid, over and above the present duty now payable for the same.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1s. per pack, be laid upon all painted or playing cards which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ l. per hide, be laid on every raw and untanned hide which shall be exported out of this kingdom during the time aforesaid to any place except Great Britain.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 20s. per ton, be laid upon every ton of soap boilers waste, and of 3l. per ton on every ton of linen rags, and so in proportion for a greater or less quantity, that shall be exported out of this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 6d. per gallon, be laid upon all linseed oil which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, and so in proportion for a greater or less quantity.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that for and upon every 100l. value of speckle wood, as the same is rated for custom, which shall be imported into this kingdom from Africa or Great Britain, during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, the several duties following, that is to say, if the same be imported from Africa by any of his Majesty's subjects, a duty of 22l. 15s. or from Great Britain by any of his Majesty's subjects, a duty of 20l. 0s. 10d. but if the same be imported from Africa by a stranger, then a duty of 24l. 3s. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. or by a stranger from Great Britain, then a duty of 20l. 2s. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. and so in proportion to any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, customs and excise, payable thereout by virtue of any law or laws heretofore made in this kingdom; and that upon the exportation thereof within three years after import, whether the same shall have been imported from Africa or Great Britain, there shall be allowed and paid a drawback of equal amount to the duties respectively charged hereby on the import of such speckle wood from Great Britain.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that for and upon all beaver skins of the produce of the British plantations in America or the West-Indies, which shall be imported from thence into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 9s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. for every five score of skins, and so in proportion for any greater or less number, in lieu and full satisfaction of all customs, duties and excise, payable thereon by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that for and upon all beaver wool, cut and combed, the produce and manufacture of the said plantations, which shall be imported into this kingdom from thence during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 17s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for every pound weight thereof, in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, customs and excise, payable thereon by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; and that the said duty shall be fully drawn back and repaid upon due exportation thereof within three years after importation.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that for and upon all cotton wool of the growth or produce of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, which shall be exported from this kingdom during the time aforesaid in any other than British or Irish shipping, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 5l. 13s. 9d. for every 100l. value thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less value, in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties and customs payable on the same by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty of 30s. be laid on every coach, chariot, berlin, calash or chaise with four wheels which any person shall keep in his or her possession, except cabriolets, garden chairs, hackney or stage carriages, and carriages kept by coach-makers for sale, being in number not more than one, and of 40s. for every coach, chariot, berlin, calash or chaise with four wheels which any person shall keep exceeding that number, except as aforesaid; and also an additional duty of 10s. on all chaises with two wheels which any person shall keep in his or her possession, except hackney chaises and chaises kept by the makers for sale, at any time between the 25th day of December, 1783, and the 25th day of December, 1784, inclusive, and one-fourth part of the like additional duties for the like carriages respectively, except as aforesaid, which any person or persons shall keep in his, her or their possession at any time between the 25th day of December, 1784, and the 25th day of March, 1785, inclusive.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a tax of 4s. in the pound be laid upon all salaries, profits of employments, fees and pensions, payable between the 25th day of December, 1783, and the 25th day of March, 1785, to the persons who shall not actually reside seven calendar months and a half in this kingdom between the said 25th day of December, 1783, and the said 25th day of March, 1785, except the descendants of his Majesty's royal grandfather, and except the Chief Governor and his

Secretary, and also except the Duke of Brunswick, Prince Ferdinand, the Duke and Dukes of Athol, the representatives of the Right Honourable Edward Lord Baron Hawke, of the kingdom of Great Britain, and George Charles, Esq; if his Majesty shall think fit, by his sign manual, to exempt them from the said tax, and also exempt all officers of the army, so far as respects the pay arising from their regimental commissions, and also except the half-pay officers on this establishment, and the widows of officers.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that for and upon all beaver wool or wombs which shall have been imported from the said plantations or settlements, and which shall be afterwards exported from this kingdom during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 8*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.* for every score pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties and customs payable thereon by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that for and upon every piece of white woollen cloth of the manufacture of Ireland, called broad cloth, which shall be exported from this kingdom, during the time aforesaid, to any of the said plantations or settlements, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, a duty of 5*s.* 8¼*d.* and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties and customs payable thereon by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the several subsidies, duties and customs, except the alnage duties, heretofore payable upon the exports of any goods and merchandizes of the growth, product and manufacture of this kingdom, be taken off, except on skins, hides of all sorts, coney hair or wool, hares wool, hair of all sorts, horns, live cattle of all sorts, ashes, bacon, beef, pork, butter, grease, guts, hogs-lard, tallow, tongues, bones not manufactured, flax-seed, hemp-seed, linen-yarn, linen-rags or shreds, rape-cakes, soapers waste, tin unwrought, weld, wax or woad, and provisions of all sorts, excepting corn, meal, malt and flour, when the prices of such corn, meal, malt and flour shall exceed those upon which a bounty on their exportation is or shall be payable.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that no subsidy, custom or duty whatsoever shall be raised, levied or paid on the export of any goods or merchandizes, the product or manufacture of this kingdom, to the British plantations in America, the West Indies, or the British settlements on the coast of Africa, except on the several articles mentioned in the foregoing resolu-

tion, and on iron and iron wares, leather tanned, dressed or tawed, shreds and points of leather, pelts, vellum and parchment, soap, hops, alum, lead, lead ore, copperas, coals, wool cards, white wollen cloth, lapis calaminaris, glew and litharge of lead.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that from and after the 25th day of December, 1783, the full duties which have been or shall be paid on the import of any goods, wares or merchandizes, except where it shall be otherwise provided this session of parliament, shall be repaid for such as shall be exported by any merchant within three years after import to any place whatever.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that from and after the 25th day of December, 1783, no customs, subsidy or duty whatever shall be payable on the importation of any unwrought timber or timber lumber of the growth or produce of America or the West Indies, any wrought timber, not being a mast, yard or bowsprit, any wood or plank, any clean, good, merchantable, well-conditioned pitch or tar, unmixed with dross or water, or clean, good, merchantable turpentine, such pitch, tar or turpentine being imported directly from America or the West Indies, and being the growth or produce thereof; any cotton wool, indigo, cochineal, Brazil or Fernambuco wood, logwood, Brazilletto or Jamaica wood, Nicorago wood, red or Guinea wood, sapan wood, mahogany or other wood, the product of America or the West Indies; any wood for dyers use imported from any place, excepting speckle wood of the growth of Africa; any whale fins, train oil or blubber, the produce of whales taken or caught in any part of the ocean, by and imported in any ship or vessel belonging to his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom, Great Britain, Guernsey, Jersey or the Isle of Man; any raw and undressed goat skins imported in British or Irish ships, navigated according to law, from any port or place whatever; any raw and undressed seal skins, taken by the crews of vessels belonging to and fitted out from this kingdom, Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey or the Isle of Man, whereof the captain and master and three-fourths of the mariners at the least are his Majesty's subjects, or by persons employed by the master or owner of such vessels, any raw silk of the growth or culture of America; any pig or bar iron made in and imported from America, any sago, powder or vermicelli imported from America; any raw or undressed hides of deers, cows or other cattle whatsoever, except of horses, mares or geldings, imported from America, and any beaver skins, the produce of America, imported from Great Britain, any law, statute or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that from and after the 25th day of December, 1783, no custom, subsidy or duty whatsoever shall be payable on the export to any place

whatsoever of logwood of the growth or produce of the British settlements in America or the West Indies, provided the same be exported in British or Irish shipping, nor upon any lead ore exported to Great Britain.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that from and after the 25th day of December, 1783, an allowance be paid on the exportation of all stuffs made in Ireland of silk only, after the rate of 1*s*. 7½*d*. the pound weight avoirdupois; and of all silks and ribbons made in Ireland of silk mixed with gold and silver, after the rate of 2*s*. 1½*d*. per pound weight; and of all silk stockings, silk gloves, fringes, laces, stitching and sewing silk made in Ireland, after the rate of 8*d*. per pound weight; and of all stuffs made in Ireland of silk and gogram yarn, after the rate of 4½*d*. per pound weight; and of all stuffs made in Ireland of silk mixed with inkle or cotton, after the rate of 6½*d*. the pound weight; and of all stuffs made in Ireland of silk and worsted, after the rate of 3½*d*. per pound weight; and of all wrought or manufactured gold or silver plate made in this kingdom, after the rate of 6*d*. for every ounce Troy weight.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that all and every person or persons who shall, from and after the 25th day of December, 1783, import directly from America or the West Indies, in any ship or vessel belonging thereto, or to Great Britain or Ireland, and manned as in such case is usual, any good and merchantable indigo, free from any false mixtures, and fit for dyers use, being the growth or product of the colony from whence the same shall be imported, shall have and be entitled to a reward or premium for such importation, after the rate of 2*s*. 2*d*. for every six pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that from and after the 25th day of December, 1783, all duties whatsoever paid on the importation of any callicoos or muslins shall be fully drawn back and repaid for all such as shall be printed, stained, or dyed in this kingdom or Great Britain, and shall be afterwards exported from hence to any place, except to any British colony or plantation in America or the West Indies, and if the same shall be exported to any such colony or plantation, then that all said duties shall be fully drawn back and repaid, except so much thereof as shall amount to a sum after the rate of 5*l*. 8*s*. 4*d*. for every 100*l*. value thereof, as the same shall have been sold by the candle at the East India Company's sales in London, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that all goods, wares and merchandizes imported from the British settlements on the coast of Africa shall pay the same and no other duties as the like goods imported from the British plantations in

America shall be subject to, except where it is otherwise particularly provided, and that a like amount of duty be drawn back on their exportation from this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the 6*l.* per pound, and all other fees which shall or may be payable to the Vice-Treasurer or Vice-Treasurers, Receiver or Paymaster General, Clerk of the Pells, or any other officer or officers of this kingdom, for or on account of the issuing or payment of any sum or sums which shall be received for or on account of the said several aids hereby granted to his Majesty, or for or upon issuing any sum or sums of money which shall or may be borrowed pursuant to any act of parliament or vote of credit this session of parliament, be applied towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty.

Resolved, That it the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there shall for the several and respective things herein-after mentioned, which shall be written or engrossed, the several and respective rates, impositions, charges and sums of money be raised, levied, collected and paid unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, from the 25th day of December, 1783, to the 25th day of March, 1785, inclusive.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 6*l.* be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any dispensation to hold two ecclesiastical dignities or benefices, or both a dignity and a benefice, or any other dispensation or faculty from the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, or master of the faculties for the time being.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 6*l.* be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any grant or letters patent under the great seal of Ireland, of any honour, dignity, promotion, franchise, liberty or privilege to any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, or exemplifications of the same (commissions of rebellion in process always excepted.)

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 6*l.* be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any grant from his Majesty, his heirs, or successors, or any sum of money exceeding 200*l.* which shall pass the great seal of Ireland.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 6*l.* be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any grant of any office or employment which shall be above the value of 200*l.* per annum.

Resolved, That is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 3*l.* be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any pardon (except the pardon passed in forma pauperis) of or for any crime or offence, or of any sum of money or forfeiture whatsoever, or on which any warrant or reprieve, relaxation from any fines, corporal punishment or other forfeiture, shall be engrossed or written.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 3*l.* be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any grant from his Majesty, his heirs or successors, of any sum of money not exceeding 200*l.* nor less than 100*l.* which shall pass the great seal of Ireland.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 3*l.* be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid any grant of any office or employment which shall be above the value of 50*l.* per annum, and under the value of 200*l.*

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 3*l.* be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any admission of any fellow of the college of physicians, or of any attorney, clerk, advocate, proctor, notary or other officer or officers in any court whatsoever, except such officer be an annual officer in any corporation or inferior court, whose office is under the value of 10*l.* a year in salary, fees or other perquisites, or any appeal from the court of Admiralty or Prerogative Court, or from any Archiepiscopal Court.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 2*l.* be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any grant of lands in fee, lease for years, or other grant of profit not herein particularly charged, that shall pass the great seal of Ireland, or the seal of the Exchequer, custodiam leases excepted.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 2*l.* be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any presentation or donation which shall pass the great seal of Ireland, or upon which any collation to be made by any archbishop or bishop, or any presentation or donation to be made by any patron whatsoever, of or to any benefice, dignity or spiritual or ecclesiastical promotion whatsoever, of the value of 100*l.* a year or upwards, the value to be ascertained by the certificate of the archbishop or bishop, or

vicar-general of the diocese, provided always that two or more benefices, episcopally united, shall be deemed and taken to be one benefice only.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 10s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any exemplification of what nature whatsoever that shall pass the seal of any court whatsoever.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 10s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any institution that shall pass the seal of any archbishop, bishop, chancellor or other ordinary or ecclesiastical court whatsoever, provided that an institution to two or more benefices episcopally united, shall be considered as to a single benefice.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 5s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any conveyance, surrender of grants or offices, release or other deed whatsoever, which shall be enrolled of record in any of the courts of the city of Dublin, or in any other court of record whatsoever.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 5s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any writ of error, certiorari or appeal, except to the delegates.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 5s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any sentence that shall be given in the court of Admiralty, or any attachment that shall be made out of the said court of Admiralty, or any relaxation of any such attachment.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 5s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any probate of a will, or letters of administration for any estate above the value of 30^l.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 5s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any recognizance conditioned for the payment of money or performance of covenants

or agreements, statute staple or statute merchant, or entered of record in any court, or office, except such recognizances as shall be entered into by persons applying for licenses to sell by retail beer, ale, wine, strong waters or other liquors, which recognizances shall be considered as bonds, and shall pay accordingly.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 5s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any record of nisi prius or postea.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 5s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any writ of entry for suffering a common recovery.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty be paid, during the time aforesaid, for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written any judgment whatsoever which shall be signed by the master of any office or his deputy or secondary, or by any prothonotary or his secondary, deputy or clerk, or any other officer belonging to any of the courts at the city of Dublin, who have power or usually do or shall sign judgments, after the rate of 5s. for every judgment engrossed or written on such skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 5s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any commissions issuing out of any ecclesiastical court not herein otherwise particularly charged.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 5s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any warrant, monition or personal decree in the court of Admiralty, except in suits for the payment of seamen's wages.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 2s. 6d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any indenture, lease or deed poll not hereby otherwise charged, except indentures for binding poor parish or other poor children, supported by public or private charities, apprentices.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parch-

ment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any writ of habeas corpus.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any special bail to be taken in any of the courts of the city of Dublin, or before any of the judges of the said courts, or in any court whatsoever, or any appearance upon such special bail.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any decree or dismission made by or in the Courts of Chancery or Exchequer.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any common bail to be filed in any court whatsoever, and any appearance that shall be made upon such bail.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty, of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any admission into any corporation or company.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any affidavit, except such affidavits as shall be taken before the officers of his Majesty's customs or excise, or any justice or justices of the peace, or before a magistrate of any corporation acting as a justice of the peace, or acting in any Court of Conscience or summary jurisdiction, or before any judge of assize or commission of Oyer and Terminer, relative to prosecutions on trials or indictments, or to civil bills, or that shall be made for the purpose of raising or accounting for public money, and except affidavits made relative to the hempen and flaxen manufactures, or to the payment of corn premiums, or made before the trustees of any turnpike relative to the roads or tolls of such turnpike, or affidavits made before the Dublin Society. And that a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, upon which any copy of such affidavit as is herein before charged, that shall be filed or read in any court whatsoever, shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any original writ (except such original upon which a writ of *capias* issues) subpoena, writ of *capias* *quo minus*, writ of *dedimus* *potestatem* to take answers, examine witnesses or appoint guardians, or any other writ whatsoever, or any other process or mandate that shall issue out of or pass the seals of any of the courts at the city of Dublin, or any other court whatsoever holding plea where the debt or damages doth amount to forty shillings or above, or the thing in demand is of that value.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any entry of any action in the mayor's and sheriffs courts of the city of Dublin, and in courts in all corporations and other courts whatsoever, out of which no writs, process or mandate issue, holding plea where the debt or damage doth amount to forty shillings or above.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any rule or order (except in causes prosecuted upon indictments, or which relate to presentments) made or given in any of the courts at the city of Dublin, either courts of law or equity, which shall be taken out.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written during the time aforesaid, any copy of such rules or orders (except in causes prosecuted upon indictments, or which relate to presentments) entered, or the copies of any other records or proceedings in any of the said courts of the city of Dublin, not hereby otherwise charged.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any citation or monition made in the prerogative court, or in any ecclesiastical courts, or any libel or allegation, deposition, answer, sentence or final decree, or any inventory exhibited in the prerogative court, or in any ecclesiastical court, or the Court of Admiralty, or whereupon any copies of them respectively shall be engrossed or written, except in suits for recovery of seamen's wages.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any charter party, policy of assurance, passport, bond, release, contract, or other obligatory instrument, or any protest, procuration, letter of attorney, or any other notarial act whatsoever.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any depositions taken in the Court of Chancery or Court of Exchequer, except the paper draughts of depositions taken by virtue of any commission before they are engrossed, which are not herein before charged.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any copy of any bill, answer, plea, demurrer, replication, rejoinder, interrogatories, deposition or other proceedings whatsoever taken in the Court of Chancery or Court of Exchequer, or in any Court of Equity.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 2d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any copy of any will attested by the proper officer of the prerogative Court, or any ecclesiastical Court.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 2d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any declaration, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleadings whatsoever in any court of law, or any copy thereof.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 4d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any certificate or debenture for drawing back any customs or duties for or in respect of the reshipping or exporting of any goods or merchandizes which at any time or times, from and after the 25th day of December, 1783, to the 25th day of March, 1785, inclusive, shall be exported, or shipped to be exported from the kingdom of Ireland for any parts beyond the seas, to be paid by the person for whose benefit or at whose instance such debenture or certificate shall be obtained.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1*d.* be paid, during the time aforesaid, for every almanack or calendar for any one particular year, or for any time less than a year, which shall be printed on one side only of any sheet or piece of paper only; and of 2*d.* for every other almanack or calendar for any one particular year, and that for every almanack or calendar made to serve for several years, the respective rates aforesaid shall be paid for every such year.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that there be paid, during the time aforesaid, for all papers containing public news, intelligence or occurrences, a duty of one halfpenny for every sheet, or piece of paper less than a sheet, on which such news, intelligence or occurrences shall be printed.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that there be paid, during the time aforesaid, for every pamphlet or paper not exceeding six sheets in octavo, or in a lesser page, or not exceeding twelve sheets in quarto, or twenty sheets of folio, so printed, a duty after the rate of 1*s.* sterling for every sheet of any kind of paper which shall be contained in one printed copy or impression thereof.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that there be paid, during the time aforesaid, a duty of 6*d.* for every advertisement to be contained in or published with any gazette, newspaper or journal, to be published weekly or oftner, or in any other printed paper or pamphlet whatsoever, being dispersed or made public yearly, monthly, or at any other interval of time.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that for and upon every piece of vellum, parchment or paper, on which shall be engrossed or written the admission of any student or barrister into the society of king's inns, there shall be paid a duty of 3*d.*

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the following duties shall be paid for and upon all French wines imported into this kingdom from the 25th day of December, 1783, to the 25th day of March, 1785, inclusive: if filled and imported by natives 33*l.* 7*s.* if filled and imported by strangers 34*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* if unfilled and imported by natives 31*l.* 1*s.* if unfilled and imported by strangers 32*l.* 2*s.* by the tun for every tun thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise and other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the following duties shall be paid for and upon all wines of the growth

of Portugal and Madeira imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid: if filled and imported by natives 22*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* if filled and imported by strangers 25*l.* —*s.* 2½*½d.* if unfilled and imported by natives 20*l.* 14*s.* if unfilled and imported by strangers 21*l.* 8*s.* by the tun for every tun thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the following duties shall be paid for and upon all Rhenish wine imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid: if filled and imported by natives 27*l.* 19*s.* 10½*d.* if filled and imported by strangers 29*l.* 9*s.* 10½*d.* if unfilled and imported by natives 25*l.* 13*s.* 10½*d.* if unfilled and imported by strangers 27*l.* —*s.* 10½*d.* by the tun for every tun thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise and other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the following duties shall be paid for and upon all Spanish wine imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid: if filled and imported by natives 28*l.* if filled and imported by strangers 29*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* if unfilled and imported by natives 25*l.* 14*s.* if unfilled and imported by strangers 27*l.* 4*s.* by the tun for every tun thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any deduction or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that during the time aforesaid the following duties shall be paid for all wines from the Canaries, and all other the dominions of Spain: if filled and imported by natives 31*l.* 3*s.* 10½*d.* if filled and imported by strangers 32*l.* 17*s.* 2½*d.* if unfilled and imported by natives 28*l.* 11*s.* 6½*d.* if unfilled and imported by strangers 30*l.* 1*s.* 6½*d.* by the tun for every tun thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable to his Ma-

jeſty for the ſame by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the following duties ſhall be paid for and upon all other wines imported into this kingdom, during the time aforeſaid: If filled and imported by natives 28/ 9s. 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ d. if filled and imported by ſtrangers 30/ 3s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. if unfilled and imported by natives 26/ 3s. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ d. if unfilled and imported by ſtrangers 27/ 12s. 10d. $\frac{1}{2}$ s. by the tun; for every tun thereof, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſs quantity; the ſaid duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any diſcount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full ſatisfaction of all cuſtom, exciſe or other duties payable to his Maſteſty for the ſame by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that bounties ought to be given on all plain Iriſh linens, and on all Iriſh linens and Iriſh callicoes and cottons, and cottons mixed with linens, printed, painted, ſtained or dyed in this kingdom, being the breadth of twenty-five inches or more, and not exceeding, when plain and unpainted, unſtained, unprinted or undyed, the value of 1s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per yard; and alſo on Iriſh diapers and huckabacks, ſheetings, and other linens above yard wide, and not exceeding 1s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. the ſquare yard in value, which ſhall be exported from this kingdom to Africa, America, the Weſt Indies, Spain, Portugal, Gibraltar, or Minorca, between the 25th day of December, 1783, and the 25th day of March, 1785, inclusive, after the rates following, that is to ſay, a bounty of one half-penny per yard for all under the value as aforeſaid of 5d. the yard; and a bounty of 1d. per yard for all of the value of 5d. and under 6d. the yard; and a bounty of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per yard for all of the value of 6d. and under the value of 1s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. the yard; and a bounty of one halfpenny per yard for all chequed and ſtriped linen, not exceeding 1s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. nor under 7d. per yard in value; and a bounty of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for every ſquare yard of diapers, huckabacks, ſheetings, and other linens, upwards of a yard in breadth, not exceeding 1s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a ſquare yard in value; and a bounty of 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for every three ells of Iriſh made ſail cloth or canvas fit for or made into ſails, which ſhall be exported by way of merchandize to any place except Great Britain, during the time aforeſaid, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſs quantities; the value of all ſuch linen, if painted, ſtained, ſtamped or dyed, or of ſuch callicoes and cottons mixed with linen, whereupon they are to be reſpectively intitled to the bounties aforeſaid, to be deemed their value when in a plain ſtate, and excluſive of ſuch painting, ſtaining, ſtamping, or dying.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that in order to encourage the growth of flax-seed in this kingdom, it will be expedient to discontinue all bounties on the import of foreign seed, and to give bounties to encourage the cultivation of it at home.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that there shall be raised, levied, collected and paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, during the time aforesaid, an additional impost or duty, after the rate of 2*l.* 10*s.* per cent. on the produce or amount of the duties payable on all teas imported, and on all wines imported, except wines of the growth of Portugal or the Madeiras; and an additional duty or impost, after the rate of 5*l.* per cent. on the produce and amount of the customs inwards and import excise, which shall be due and payable to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, during the term aforesaid, and which shall be collected in this kingdom for and upon any goods and merchandizes imported into the same, except upon wines, teas, tobacco, hops, sugars, and the several goods or merchandizes of the product or manufacture of the British Colonies in America or the West Indies, or the British Settlements on the coast of Africa, whereon any duties are imposed or altered this session of parliament; the said additional impost or duty to be paid upon their amount after the usual discount and allowances have been made therefrom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty for the encouragement of English protestant schools in this kingdom, a tax be laid on all hawkers, pedlars, petty chapmen, or any other trading persons going from town to town, or to other mens houses, and travelling either on foot or with horse, or otherwise carrying to sell or exposing to sale any goods, wares or merchandizes, except such persons as shall deal only in selling acts of parliament, forms of prayer, proclamations, gazettes, almanacks or other printed papers, or fish, fruit or victuals, or the real workers or makers of any goods or wares within this kingdom, who shall deal only in selling such goods and wares, excepting also tinkers, coopers, glaziers, plumbers, harness-menders, and persons usually trading in mending kettles, tubs, household goods or harness.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the said tax laid upon all hawkers, pedlars, petty chapmen, and other trading persons, be 10*s.* on every such hawker, pedlar, petty chapman or other trading person; and also that the further sum of 10*s.* be laid on every hawker, pedlar, petty chapman, and other trading person travelling with a horse, ass, mule or other beast bearing or drawing burthen, for each horse, ass, mule, or other beast bearing or drawing burthen, he or she shall so

travel with, over and above the first-mentioned tax of 10s. from the 24th day of March, 1784, to the 25th day of March, 1785, inclusive.

Resolved, That all duties of customs inwards, import excise, and all other duties whatsoever payable on the import of any goods, wares and merchandizes, during the time aforesaid, shall be paid down net in ready money, without any discount or allowance for prompt payment.

Resolved, That for and upon all goods, wares and merchandizes which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except sugars, by any person being a retailer or consumer, there shall be paid in ready money net, without discount or allowance for prompt payment, an additional duty after the rate of 10l. per centum on the duties payable thereon respectively, over and above the full amount of such duties.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an additional duty be laid on all steel and iron wire which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, after the rate of 2l. 10s. for every hundred weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

Ordered, That leave be given to bring in one or more bill or bills, pursuant to the said resolutions and the resolutions of the committee of supply; and that the Right Honourable John Foster, the Right Honourable Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Prime Serjeant, Mr. Solicitor General, George Ponsonby, Esq; and Mr. Mason, do prepare and bring in the same.

A petition of the journeymen hosiery of the county and city of Dublin was presented to the House and read, setting forth their deplorable situation, arising from enormous importations, together with the frequent want of that part of the petitioners raw material employed in worsted hosiery, and praying that the House would grant petitioners relief, by passing a law for protecting duties to support their trade.

Ordered, That the said petition be referred to the committee of the whole House, appointed to consider further of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty.

Mr. *Burgh*, Accountant General, presented to the House, pursuant to their order, an account of the quantum of money paid in the year, ending Lady-day, 1783, on exchequer acquittances, by the several collectors of his Majesty's revenue, distinguishing each collection.

The title whereof was read, and the account ordered to lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

The House, according to order, resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider further of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty; and after some time spent therein Mr. Speaker resumed the chair, and the Right Hon. *John Foster* reported from the committee that they had come to several resolutions in the matter to them referred, which he was directed to report when the House will please to receive the same, and that he was also directed to move the House for leave to sit again.

Ordered, That the report be received to-morrow morning.

Resolved, That this House will, on Tuesday morning next, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider further of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty.

Mr. Attorney General said, that when England imparted to this nation an equal enjoyment of her plantation trade, it was on condition that we should equalize the duties on all plantation goods imported into Ireland, to the rate of the duty laid upon the same goods when imported into England. That agreeable to this covenant, the House in the last session had gone into a close investigation of the subject, and had turned their attention chiefly to sugar, the principal produce of the West India Islands; that as to the Muscovado sugars, the rates were easily settled; and that after long enquiry it had appeared, that 12s. 1d. on refined sugars, was the just equalizing duty between England and Ireland; by which the refiners of both countries might work to equal advantage. That consonant to this opinion, the House transmitted to England a bill for equalizing the duties, laying 12s. 1d. on every hundred of British refined imported here, but that it had been returned altered to 9s. 4d. that his opinion was, that 9s. 4d. was not sufficient to protect the refineries of Ireland, and he would now move to increase that sum to 12s. 1d.

Mr. David Latouche said, that though he did by no means think 12s. 1d. a true equalization, yet as administration had conceded something by restoring the duty first agreed to by the House, he would for the present rest content; in order to try its operation on the refinery, which if against the next sessions it should appear an ineffectual duty, he was resolved himself then to move a further one.

Mr. Fitzgibbon—I never was more attentive in my life to any subject, than I was last session to the subject now before us, and I do assert, and the evidence will warrant that assertion, that every witness examined by the House, established this fact; that un-

der the former duty of 9s. 4d. the Irish refiner had a decided superiority. I consider the refiners of Ireland as a national object, only so far as they encourage a direct trade between this country and the plantations, otherwise they are no national object at all; and my view was, by the duty imposed, to drive our merchants into a direct trade with the islands of the West Indies, for if we are to continue in the old slovenly circuitous way, our refineries, instead of being an advantage to the trade of this country, will be of but little service to it.

Mr. Hartley said, we should follow the example of England in laying duties, amounting almost to a prohibition, on foreign manufactures. When we had permission to trade to the West India Islands, there was a duty of 5s. 6d. carried for an equalizing duty; this was found to be too small, and on the question being re-considered, it was found that 12s. 1d. was only adequate to protect the Irish refinery; but on this going to England, the English refiners had it referred to the lords of trade, who reduced it to 9s. and 2½d. and this was adopted. The refiners of Britain could have but two motives for reducing our protection from 12s. 1d. to 9s. 4d. either an insidious intention to destroy our refineries, or a monopolizing wish to possess our market. The Irish refiners proved that it would take 3 cwt. of raw to make one cwt. of refined; but this position you over-ruled. However, England herself, not long ago, shewed you your error; for in laying on additional duties, she adopted the proportion of three to one. He acknowledged that the plantation trade was a gift, and that much gratitude would have been due, was it fairly imparted; but, upon receiving this gift, we had been induced to restrain ourselves from trading with the sugar colonies of every state but Britain—a restraint under which we now severely suffered, for had we it now in our power to offer Portugal to receive sugars from Brazil (which could furnish on more advantageous terms than any plantation of Britain) we might settle our trade with the Portuguese on a very respectable footing.

Mr. Beresford said, he rose not to oppose the motion, but to explain the reasons of his former conduct, and the principles on which he had then acted, and from which he had not departed. He said, that the direct importation had ever been his object, and the point to which his reasoning went; consonant to which the true equalizing duty was to make our duty upon British refined sugars equal to the British drawback; he had therefore originally asserted that 3s. 4d. was the true equalizing duty; he declared so still, and that every thing above 3s. 4d. was a favour.

He said, he would not enter at large into the subject; but as much evil had been prophesied, and many melancholy predictions made when the duty of 9s. 4d. had been laid on, he would just

take a transient view of the consequences produced by that duty.

In two years, previous to the free trade, we imported 424,831 cwt. from Great Britain.

In the three years of the free trade, we imported 361,869 cwt. from Great Britain, out of which 62,000 cwt. was imported directly from the West Indies. It is not an easy matter for nations to fall into a new trade, but I will state its gradations:

In the first year there was imported 137,440 cwt. out of which there was 7,384 cwt. from the West Indies, which is equal to 1 part out of 17½.

In the next year, 152,000 cwt. out of which there was 18,681 from the West Indies, or as one to seven.

In the third year 133,000 cwt. out of which there was 34,164 directly from the West Indies, or as one to two and eighteen twentieths.

In Belfast, in 1781, there was imported 14,072 cwt. out of which 1,334 cwt. was directly from the West Indies, at 1 to 9½. In the second year there was 12,343 cwt. out of 3,156. In the third year, 9,183 cwt. out of which there was 3,708 cwt. from the West Indies.

But besides the gloomy predictions that had been made concerning our direct trade to the West Indies, which Mr. Beresford thus disproved, he went on to shew that the declarations of the merchants and sugar-bakers, "that Ireland would be supplied with refined sugars wholly from Great Britain," was equally ill-founded, for he proved from the accounts for seven years last past, that before the free trade, the English refiner supplied about 1-12th of our market, and at present even that was reduced; he supplied but 1-13th; in establishing this point, he took notice of a Mr. Thompson of Belfast, who had given evidence before the committee in previous sessions. That gentleman had said, that by a duty of 9s. 4d. the Irish refinery would be undone, Mr. Beresford had lately been at Belfast, and had enquired into the state of his manufacture, which he had the pleasure to find was much more flourishing than ever. When the new duties passed, Mr. Thompson had two sugar-houses in Belfast, and there was also in that town another, the property of some other persons. Pronouncing the ruin of the manufactory, Mr. Thompson shuts up one of his houses, and dexterously persuades those other persons to do the same by theirs; upon which he turns over all his men to his other refinery, and carries on his trade on a more extensive plan than ever. His importation in the last year with one sugar-house, was greater than in any year when he had two; and about half that importation was by a direct trade with the West Indies.

Hoping thus, he hoped proved, that the duty of 9s. 4d. was sufficient, not by his opinion only, but by the practice of Mr. Thompson, he said, it was not his design to resist giving the sugar-bakers a monopoly, if gentlemen should think right so to do.

Mr. Mason supported the facts advanced by the last Right Hon. Speaker. He would not, he said, enter at large into a business on which at present there seemed no question; but he thought it just to defend from ungenerous aspersions that honourable body, the board of trade, by whose advice the former duty had been fixed at 9s. 4d.—they had acted on the most equitable principles, and the event had justified their opinion: nor did he think a respectable body of our fellow-subjects, the sugar refiners of Great Britain, deserved the unkind insinuations that had been uttered against them; they had several opportunities of throwing into our market large quantities of their manufacture, which, had they intended to injure the Irish refineries, they would have seized, but which they always omitted. At one particular time they had a bounty of 12s. 6d. which was not counteracted by us for several months: yet they made no unfair advantage of this bounty, but carried on their trade with the same uniform industry for which English manufacturers are distinguished. He concluded with saying, that he would consent to the duty now proposed as an experiment; but if he found that it encouraged the circuitous trade, he would move its repeal in the next session.

Mr. Hawley acquitted himself from intending to cast aspersions on the board of trade, but said, they had only heard one side of the question.

Mr. Godfrey Green approved of the former duty; he entered into a detail of many acts of combination by the Irish refiners, particularly at Cork. He feared, that if they were to obtain a monopoly, they would fall again into the circuitous track; and said, that every man who chose to drink his tea or his punch sweet, ought to vote against it.

In the last war there were quantities of sugars in Cork, but they kept up the price. The English refiners will give nine or twelve months credit, but the Irish refiners will give only thirty-one days. They are certainly at great expence for coals in their manufacture; but I hope our own collieries may be worked, and not be under the necessity of applying to Sir James Lowther. Whenever spices are cheap, the Dutch burn them in order to keep up their price.

Right Hon. the *Provost* declared his ignorance of any monopoly in the sugar-bakers of Cork to keep up the price of sugar.

Mr. Felham said, he would not enter on the subject which his Right Hon. Friend, better informed than he, had so ably stated to the House; but he declared that he never before had heard of any combination among the British refiners to injure Ireland; he

thought them incapable of it; they had indeed been of different opinions, some approving, and others condemning the former duty. He was happy, he said, that an Hon. Member approved of the duty now intended, and recommended it to gentlemen to be unanimous, as government had in this business advanced to meet the wishes of the people.

Mr. Meigs.—I highly approve of the duties now proposed, and will vote for the motion.

Mr. Grippen.—When this business came on the last session, council was called to the bar, and Mr. Sutton, Mr. Thompson, and others were examined. What was then said appears now to be true, for we only import directly from the West Indies one-seventh of our consumption: Mr. Thompson said it would destroy the manufacture here; but, said he, I shall not suffer so much as others on account of my experience in the business. The question then passed in the affirmative.

Mr. Hartley said, that as on account of the recent misfortune of a Right Hon. Gentleman who had taken an active part in the business of protecting duties, it was to be feared he would not be able to attend in his place in time for having these duties inserted in a money bill, he should on Thursday next bring it on, though conscious how much he fell short in the ability with which that gentleman would have himself brought it forward.

Mr. Brasford said, the Right Hon. Gentleman, notwithstanding his unhappy situation, was determined to attend when that business would come on finally; but that it would be premature to bring the business into the House while the committee of trade was open, and that many witnesses were yet to be examined.

Mr. Hartley asked was it intended to tack these duties to one of the great money bills?

Mr. Kebleton.—This is a subject of great magnitude, and deserves the most patient and thorough investigation. The Right Hon. Gentleman in possession of the subject has examined some witnesses already, and he has more to examine. I am sensible as soon as he is a little recovered from those feelings he must be under from his recent loss, he will bring on this business. It is a question of importance, and every gentleman should have time to consider it maturely. I do not know all the articles which are intended to come under the head of protecting duties. To tuck it to be tacked to the money bill, is supposing it to be already passed; the whole subject must come before the House before they can agree to it.

Sir John Blaquiere.—I recommend the consideration of this question, and I would have it investigated with the greatest circumspection, in a patient manner. The concourse of people crowding your avenues are not to intimidate; the dignity of parlia-

ment must be preserved. As to the manufacturers they deserve the attention and encouragement of parliament.

Mr. Curran.—I wish that no time should be lost in this business. Your starving manufacturers came here as supplicants, not as rioters. I have such firm reliance on the humanity and integrity of the Right Hon. Gentlemen on the other side, that I doubt not they will become their patrons; they should meet with the support of every man in this House. The Right Hon. Gentleman will not be offended at its being brought on. It will not depend for protection on the abilities of an individual, but on the wisdom and justice of parliament. He confessed, however, that he feared the desire he observed in the gentlemen on the other side of the House, to postpone this great business, boded no good; for if it was deferred till after the recess, he feared we should never hear more of it.

Mr. Pelham.—I rise to inform the Hon. Gentleman who enquires whether the committee will close before the subject now under consideration be discussed, that so far as it depends upon me and the gentlemen with whom I have the honour to co-operate, it shall receive the fullest and fairest investigation. Every bill laying a duty upon goods imported is a money bill, and consequently must go through the committee; and it is not my wish either to precipitate the present business or to give it any delay. This answer I have given to-day to two corporations who applied to me on this subject. But gentlemen say, tack this to a money bill. If they say this by way of threat, or as having any diffidence of his Majesty's ministers, let them speak out. The learned gentleman has said, we might collect the meaning and necessity of protecting duties from those who yesterday crowded about this House—but I say, parliament is the only place where I will receive information on this subject—where I will debate it, or where I will form my opinion.

Attorney General.—I do not mean to reply to what has been said, but I think myself called upon to declare, that I hope to receive better information upon this subject before I form my determination, than what has yet been offered. I will never receive any information, or comply with any desire of persons who come to intimidate this house. I know how they were collected—I am not ignorant of the means that are used and I lament that I did not last night move some resolutions to secure the most valuable privilege of parliament, the privilege of free debate. I think it proper to say this, lest these deluded, misguided poor people should imagine they could gain any thing by tumult—From what has happened in parliament, they have every reason to believe that their cause is in better hands in this house, than with those who mislead them to our doors.

The House resumed.

The committee reported they had made some progress, and requested leave to sit again.

Mr. *Daly* moved that lists may be given in, respecting the voters on the Galway election.—Ordered.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER, 19, 1783.

The petition of Sir John Brown, complaining of an undue election for the county of Mayo, was withdrawn.

A committee in the usual form was nominated to try the Leitrim election, viz.

Thomas Burgh, Esq;	Henry Pomeroy, Esq;
Richard Nevill, Esq;	Hercules Rowley, Esq;
John Reily, Esq;	Henry Stewart, Esq;
Ephraim Carrol, Esq;	Lord Kilwarlin,
Henry Vaughan Brooke, Esq;	Patrick Walfh, Esq;
Hon. Thomas Pakenham,	John Hobson, Esq;
Broderick Chinnery, Esq;	Lord Henry Fitzgerald.
Rt. Hon. John Pomeroy,	

Mr. *Ogle* reported from the committee for trying the Dundalk election, that the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Jocelyn, and the Hon. Robert Jocelyn, were duly elected to represent the borough of Dundalk.

Mr. *O'Hara* moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal registering of freeholders. Leave granted, and a committee appointed to prepare the same.

Mr. *Corry* said that he had felt himself not kindly treated on two attempts that he had made, to bring forward an address to his Majesty on the Prince of Wales having auspiciously attained his one-and-twentieth year. On the last day, when a previous question was hastily put to preclude his motion, upon barely requesting that the House would pay at least a decent civility to a motion, which was brought forward in a decent and parliamentary form, the Hon. General Luttrell stated, that an attack was thereby made on the privileges of parliament. I cannot but congratulate the House, said Mr. *Corry*, on the champion that has declared himself the protector of parliamentary privileges; the privilege of parliament is a subject upon which the Hon. General has heretofore highly distinguished himself, and his name upon that topic, will, I am convinced, never be forgotten. He has been equally remarkable for his attachment to the privilege of parliament, as to real and adequate representation of the people, and though his ideas of real and adequate representation, might not perfectly agree with those of persons now wishing for a par-

liamentary reform, yet it is a subject upon which he is certainly highly distinguished. I promised then, that I should on this day resume my motion for an address; on the opening of the session, I mentioned it, and then said, that it ought to be introduced in compliment to his Majesty and his Royal Highness the Prince, in the speech from the throne, and that though it were not mentioned there, yet it ought to be introduced in the address from this house; but the want of usage and precedent, was urged as an argument for not adopting that opinion. Before moving the address, I shall say a few words as to the usage of parliament, relating to what concerns the Royal Family, and shall shew the House, that these are precedents in favour of the principle of my motion, notwithstanding that there never could have been an address exactly the same of this, since the reign of James the First, 'till the case of his present Majesty. Charles the Second, and the unfortunate James the Second, lived in times in which no usage or motion of this kind could be made, as they were both in banishment at that period of their lives. William the Third could not have given a precedent, nor could Queen Anne as heir to the crown. George the First could not; George the Second was of age long before his father acceded to the British throne. Prince Frederick was of age before his arrival in England, and therefore his present Majesty is the only case in which it could have happened; why it did not happen, I do not presume to conjecture; but this I am sure of, that his Majesty, George the Second, had certainly not a more sincere attachment to his family, than that which does such infinite honour to his present Majesty's domestic character. It has been supposed, that it is not the usage for parliament to interfere in matters which concern the Royal Family, except when called upon by the throne in the speech. I shall mention some facts to set aside that position, as also to shew, that parliament have thought on frequent occasions, that it became them to do so, and on occasions not of more importance than the present. In England, on the opening of the session in 1729, immediately after the arrival of Prince Frederick, the House congratulated the King thereupon, in the very first paragraph of the address, though his arrival was not mentioned in the speech from the throne; the same happened in the Lords of England, and a message of congratulation was sent to his Royal Highness. On that Prince's marriage in 1736, an address was voted to the King three days after, though no message was sent to the House, and also a message of congratulation to their Royal Highnesses, the same as the Lords. In 1737, upon Mr. Pulteney's motion for an independent establishment for the Prince of Wales, not only no message was sent, upon which that motion was grounded, but a message was read by Sir Robert Walpole from the King, with intent thereby, to

stop the motion of Mr. Pulteney, and yet there was on a division, 204 to 234 in support of Mr. Pulteney's motion. The same day, the same question was agitated in the Lords, and 14 peers protested when it was negatived, and it is to be remarked, that Mr. Pulteney clearly proves from precedents, the competency and the usage of parliament to interfere in the concerns of the Royal Family, of their own motion, even in the momentous question of the establishment of the Prince of Wales; and it is equally remarkable, that Sir Robert Walpole expressly acknowledges the competency and the usage, and opposes the motion upon other grounds. When the Princess Dowager of Wales died in 1782, an address of condolence was moved, though no message came from the King. Upon the birth of his present Majesty, he not being born Prince of Wales, no address was voted. When his present Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was born, his Majesty was congratulated upon the opening of the ensuing session, though it was not mentioned in the speech from the throne. All these cases, Sir, clearly prove, that it has been the usage of parliament to interfere in matters which concern the Royal Family, without being called upon by the throne; and now, Sir, a few instances will shew you that the same usage has prevailed in this kingdom, and further, that it has been the usage to mention in the speech here, matters which concern the Royal Family, though not mentioned in the same manner in England. The first will prove, that I am not unwarranted in the motion of to-day, and the second will shew, how wanting his present Excellency has been in not mentioning the subject of this motion in the speech from the throne. On the opening of the session in 1729 here, no notice is taken of Prince Frederick's arrival in the dominions by the speech from the throne, and yet this house congratulates his Majesty in their address; and also upon the death of her late Royal Highness, during the session, this House votes an address of condolence without any notification made of that event by message. The marriage of Prince Frederick, and also the melancholy intimation of his death, are mentioned in the speech here, though not notified from the King in England, either by speech or message; and to instance in the case of that very Prince, who is the subject, though not the object, of the address, now to be moved, his Royal Highness's birth is mentioned in the speech from the throne here, though not mentioned in the speech in England; which precedents his present Excellency might, if he had chosen it, safely have copied on this occasion in compliment. But, Sir, as to precedents being *wanting*, if there had been no precedents upon this subject, I should not think myself concluded by the *want* of precedents. The best lawyers lay down, that precedents without argument and decision, are of no moment; they are always supposed to be made

upon due consideration, and therefore the doctrine of precedents does not apply to cases that are new, or never before brought into agitation; and if a question has never been before decided upon at all, that can hardly be adduced as a precedent for deciding against it, when it is brought forward; nor can its never having been agitated be called a precedent, for that it never shall be agitated. But, Sir, there are cases where a departure in parliament from precedents is wisdom—look at that body of precedents that fill and disgrace your journals, till one illustrious man, now no more, nobly departing from them, in an address with unprecedented boldness, thereby obtained for your nation a free trade. The whole state of your country is unprecedented, and when unprecedented acts of attention have been shewn to you on the part of our gracious Sovereign, who has condescended to be a mediator between this and the other kingdom, will you set bounds to nothing in this system of new precedents, but the gratitude and affection of this house to that gracious Monarch? It is a time to take unprecedented occasions for assurances of attachment to the crown, and his Majesty's Royal Family. Great changes have been made in our constitution, others perhaps are meditated; these considerations call upon you to declare it. The amputation of so great a part of the empire as has taken place, calls upon you to declare it in the face of Europe; and when you are sowing the seeds of future riches and greatness, you are called upon in policy as in gratitude, to shew that your prosperity is to inspire you with new zeal towards his Majesty and his Royal House; that so you may secure the Monarch, a guardian of your rights, and retain the Sovereign through his princely virtues, a protector of your interests. Without intending to follow it with any other motion, I shall now call upon ministers to support a measure full of duty, loyalty, and affection to his Majesty, and move you that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to assure his Majesty of the loyalty and attachment of this House to his Majesty's royal person and government; of the unfeigned joy of this House, upon occasion of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales having auspiciously attained the age of twenty-one years, as an additional assurance to his Majesty's faithful subjects of the stability of his Majesty's government, and of the illustrious and protestant house of Hanover, which fills the throne of these dominions; and to assure his Majesty, that his faithful Commons of Ireland are anxious to express their zeal and attachment on every occasion which can contribute to his Majesty's domestic happiness, at a time when it is fit that every part of the British empire should shew itself to be most closely united, by one common bond of loyalty and affection, to their most gracious Sovereign; and when his Majesty's faithful subjects of Ireland, grateful for that paternal and gracious attention

lately vouchsafed by his Majesty to their rights and interests, are desirous to prove that the prosperity and advancement of Ireland, will always inspire additional zeal for the dignity and splendor of his Majesty's illustrious person and family.

Mr. *Dennis Browne* seconded the motion.

Mr. *George Ponsonby* said that no man in the House was more attached to the Royal Family than himself. He did not however find any precedent of such an address being presented. He therefore moved the order of the day.

Right Hon. *T. Conolly*. I see no reason for not agreeing to this motion, but that it came from the other side of the House. The address is expressive of our affection to his Majesty and his Royal Family. The Honourable Gentleman who proposed it, does not mean this as a foundation for money to be granted. I cannot therefore find any reason why it should be scouted out of this House. I have heard it spoken to in a full and candid manner, and the address is expressed in so humble, so dutiful, and so affectionate a style, that I shall vote for it, though I do not know his Royal Highness, and the Hon. Gentleman does. I did not know that his Majesty was become of late so happy; I never heard he rejoiced when the Prince arrived at eighteen, nor at twenty-one. However, being a loyal and affectionate address, and though coming from that side of the House, I certainly shall vote for it.

Mr. *Pole*. When I came into this House, I was determined to vote against it; but having heard it so fully spoken to, I certainly shall vote for it.

Right Hon. Mr. *Brownlow*.—I do not approve of this address. When parliament addresses his Majesty, it ought to be on solid reasons, as an answer to some information required, or for some favour. It is well known the Prince was born in 1762, and must in 1783 be 21, and he can now take his seat in the House of Peers. I think it would be improper to put our Sovereign in mind of mortality; and I sincerely hope that that period will be very remote. His Majesty is in good health, and I hope that he may long enjoy it: but why tell him that his son is of age, to put him in mind of his increasing age, and his Majesty's declining? Notwithstanding the respectability of the gentleman who is in favour of it, I must give it a negative.

Right Hon. Mr. *Pelham*.—I should have thought it not consistent to address upon occasions which do not seem to require it. The Hon. Gentleman called upon gentlemen in administration, and I being considered as one of those, think it necessary to say a few words: If I was to give any encouragement to the address, it might be afterwards moved, to grant an establishment for his Royal Highness. No man in or out of this House entertains a higher veneration, a more perfect affection, nor a more unfeigned

and loyal attachment to the royal personage, on whose account this address has been moved, than I feel. But I never have seen this address; I have had no instructions from his Majesty's ministers: it is for the House to determine, whether they will vote for it or not. As to expressing the loyalty and attachment of this House, that is so fully expressed in the addresses already presented, in consequence of the speech from the throne, that no doubt can remain of the loyalty and attachment of this House. I should be glad gentlemen would speak out whenever they think it necessary to address. I cannot have any wish but the wish of this House. I therefore rely on the wisdom of this House to determine, whether it is now proper to present such an address.

Mr. *Osborne* said, although he did not pin his faith upon courtiers, yet in matters of ceremony he thought they were generally right. This country, he said, had no occasion for new proofs of its loyalty; and as his Majesty's pleasure was not known on this subject, he thought it would be highly indecorous to present the address desired.

On a division, whether the House should go into the order of the day, there appeared,

Ayes	—	—	155
Noes	—	—	10

Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. *Osborne*, and Mr. *Brownlow*.

Tellers for the Noes, Mr. *Corry*, and Mr. *Dennis Broivne*.

The Right Hon. *John Foster*, according to order, reported from the committee of the whole House, appointed to consider further of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the resolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, where the same were read, and agreed unto by the House, and are as follow:

Resolved, That a further additional duty of 2s. be laid on every barrel of herrings, containing 32 gallons, except British herrings, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 2s. 6d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any bill, answer, plea, demurrer, replication, rejoinder, interrogatory, deposition taken by commission, or any other pleading whatsoever in the courts of Chancery or Exchequer.

Resolved, That every such skin or piece of vellum or parchment, on which shall be engrossed or written any number of words exceeding two thousand, shall be considered as two skins or pieces, and pay duty accordingly.

Resolved, That no skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece of sheet of paper, upon which any copy of any affidavit charged

with a duty of 1s. shall be written, shall contain more than three hundred and eighty-four words.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that for and upon all muscovado sugars of the growth, product or manufacture of the British plantations in America, or the West Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom between the 25th day of December, 1783, and the 25th day of March, 1785, inclusive, directly from thence or from Great Britain, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 13s. 3d. $13\frac{3}{4}$ if imported by natives, and if imported by strangers a duty after the rate of 13s. $9\frac{1}{4}$ d. for every 112 pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, customs and excise now payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 1l. 16s. $9\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hundred weight be laid on all refined sugars in loaves, not being bastards, and on all candy which shall be imported from Great Britain, during the time aforesaid, being of British manufacture, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the same to be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, customs and excise now payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty be laid on all refined sugars, called bastards, and on all ground and powdered refined sugars, and all refined loaf broke in pieces, which shall be imported from Great Britain during the time aforesaid, being of the manufacture of Great Britain, after the rate of 18s. $11\frac{1}{4}$ s. $1\frac{1}{3}$ d. for every hundred weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duty to be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, customs and excise now payable thereon by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that for and upon all white sugars of the growth, product or manufacture of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom, during the time aforesaid, directly from thence or from Great Britain, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 1l. 11s. $4\frac{1}{2}$ s. $\frac{1}{3}$ d. if imported by natives, and if imported by strangers a duty after the rate of 1l. 12s. $10\frac{1}{2}$ s. $\frac{1}{3}$ d. for every 112 pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties

to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, customs and excise now payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that for and upon all refined sugars of the growth, product or manufacture of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom, during the time aforesaid, directly from thence or from Great Britain, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 1*l.* 13*s.* 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* if imported by natives, and if imported by strangers, a duty after the rate of 4*l.* 18*s.* 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for every 112 pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, customs and excise now payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that for and upon all panes of the growth, product or manufacture of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom, during the time aforesaid, directly from thence or from Great Britain, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 17*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* if imported by natives, and if imported by strangers a duty after the rate of 18*s.* — $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for every 112 pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, customs and excise now payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that all drawbacks or allowances now given by law on the export of refined sugars made in this kingdom, do cease and be no longer payable; and that it is the opinion of this committee, that in lieu of said drawbacks, and for the encouragement of refining sugars in Ireland, a bounty shall be allowed and paid upon all refined sugar which shall be exported from this kingdom during the time aforesaid, after the rate of 1*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* for every hundred weight of such refined sugar exported in the loaf compleat and whole, being net, that is to say, of one uniform whiteness throughout, and which hath gone through the operation of two or more clays since it was last in the pan, and hath been properly and thoroughly dried in the stove according to the present practice of refining; and after the rate of 12*s.* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for every hundred weight of such refined sugar exported, called bastards, and of all ground and powdered refined sugar, and all refined loaf sugar broke in pieces, the said sugar having been twice clayed and properly dried in the stove; and likewise of

all candy properly refined and manufactured, and free from dirt and scum.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that all brown or muscovado sugars, taken and condemned as prize, which shall be imported into this kingdom between the 25th day of December, 1783, and 25th day of March, 1785, inclusive, may be ware-housed for exportation without payment of any duty whatsoever, if imported from Great Britain and legally condemned there; but if the same shall be condemned in this kingdom, then that there shall be paid upon the same, being so ware-housed, a duty after the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ 10s. if the same shall be taken by any of his Majesty's ships of war, and of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ 10s. if the same shall have been taken by any private ship of war, for every hundred pounds value thereof, valuing each hundred weight at four pounds, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, which duties shall not be drawn back on export.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that if any of said sugars, whether condemned here or in Great Britain, shall be afterwards taken out of such ware-house to be consumed in this kingdom, or for any other purpose than to be exported, that then there shall be paid upon their being so taken out, if the same shall have been condemned in Great Britain, and taken by any of his Majesty's ships of war, a duty after the rate of $13\frac{1}{2}\%$ 10s. $10\frac{1}{2}\%$ $\frac{1}{2}d.$ for each hundred weight thereof; and if condemned in Great Britain, and taken by any private ship of war, then a duty after the rate of 18% 2s. $8\frac{1}{2}\%$ $\frac{1}{2}d.$ for every hundred weight thereof; but if the same shall have been condemned as a prize in this kingdom, then a duty, over and above the duties aforesaid paid on ware-housing the same, after the rate of 14% 4d. $\frac{1}{2}\%$ $\frac{1}{2}d.$ if taken by any of his Majesty's ships of war; and of 18% 4s. $\frac{1}{2}\%$ $\frac{1}{2}d.$ if taken by any private ship of war, for every hundred weight thereof; the said duties to be paid down in ready money, without discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all other duties now payable on the same by any law or laws heretofore made in this kingdom.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the committee appointed to prepare and bring in a bill or bills, pursuant to the resolutions of the committee of ways and means, and the resolutions of the committee of supply, to make provision therein pursuant to the said resolutions now agreed to.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the committee appointed to prepare one or more bill or bills, pursuant to the resolutions of the committee of ways and means, and the resolutions of the committee of supply, to insert a clause or clause

ses in the said bill or bills for allowing three years for drawbacks.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills for applying the duties laid on coffee, chocolate and cocoa nuts, and on raw and untanned hides exported, and linseed oil, to the use and encouragement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures of this kingdom.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, directing that the several sums granted to encourage the raising sufficient quantities of flax and hemp, and for the encouragement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, shall be applied to such purposes only, and that separate accounts be kept of the application thereof, and be laid before parliament.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, to empower the chief commissioners of his Majesty's excise or any three of them, and the collectors of his Majesty's excise, in their several districts, to grant licenses for the selling of cider by retail; and that for every such license the sum of 1s. 1d. and no more, shall be paid or demanded as a fee. And to empower the gaugers and officers of excise, in their several and respective districts, to enter into the houses, out-houses, store-houses and cellars of every retailer or retailers of cider, and to take an account from time to time of all cider which shall be found in the possession of such retailer or retailers thereof, and to charge such retailer or retailers with the duty of 1d. per gallon accordingly; and to oblige every retailer of cider to shew to the gaugers or officers of excise, on demand, all his or her stock of cider then in hand, under a penalty.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that the duties of 1s. and 2s. per barrel upon all herrings imported, except British herrings, be applied to the encouragement of the fisheries of this kingdom.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills for securing the repayment of so much of the several sums therein to be mentioned, which have been or shall be advanced at an interest not exceeding 4l. per centum per annum, or for which lottery debentures have issued for payment of the prizes in the lotteries heretofore established, as shall remain unpaid on the 25th day of December, 1783.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, to prohibit the importation of all hops, except of the growth of Great Britain or the British plantations in America; and of all glass, except from Great Britain; and of all gold and silver lace, and of all cambricks and lawns, except such as are of the manufacture of Great Britain.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that the respective deputy or deputies of all and every person and persons who by reason of any salaries, profits or employments, fees or pensions shall be liable to the said tax of 4s. in the pound, shall deliver in upon oath before the chief baron, or any one of the barons of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer, or before any two justices of the peace, an account of the net profits of the said employments of all and every such person or persons who shall not have resided within this kingdom, for the space of seven calendar months and a half between the 25th day of December, 1783, and the 25th day of March, 1785, under a penalty.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that the respective secretaries to the commissioners, and agents of those who are entitled to receive any salaries or pensions, shall deliver in upon oath before the chief baron, or any of the barons of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer, or before any two justices of the peace, a list of the officers of the revenue, and of all persons entitled to salaries or persons who shall not have resided within this kingdom for the space of seven calendar months and a half between the 25th day of December, 1783, and the 25th day of March, 1785, under a penalty.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, to oblige every person chargeable with the duty on carriages with four wheels, and also on chaises with two wheels, to return to the collector of the district where he or she shall reside, a true account of all coaches, berlins, chariots, calashes and chaises with four wheels, and chaises with two wheels, kept by him or her, under a penalty.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, to exempt from any duties thereby to be imposed, all bills of exchange, accounts, bills of parcels, and all bills or notes, not sealed, for payment of money at sight, or upon demand, or at the end of certain days of payment.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills to exempt

from any duties thereby to be imposed, the probate of any will or letters of administration of any common seaman or soldier, who shall be slain or die in his Majesty's service, a certificate being produced from the captain or commander of the ship or vessel, or captain or commanding officers of the troop or company under whom such seaman or soldier served at the time of his death, and oath being made of the truth thereof before the proper judge or officer by whom such probate or administration ought to be granted, which oath such judge or officer shall be authorised and required to administer, and for which no fee or reward shall be taken.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills to exempt from any duties upon stamped vellum, parchment or paper thereby to be imposed, any person or persons that shall be admitted to sue or defend in forma pauperis, so far as relates to the suit in which he or they shall be so admitted to sue or defend.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills to exempt from any duty thereby to be imposed, any warrant made by or recognizance taken before any justice or justices of the peace, or any proceedings which shall relate to any trial of any common soldier.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills to exempt all indentures of apprenticeship, where no apprentice fee shall be given, or if any be given it shall not exceed the sum of 10*l.* from payment of more than 6*d.* duty for every such indenture.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills to exempt from any duties thereby to be imposed on pamphlets or newspapers, all acts of parliament, proclamations, orders of council, forms of prayer and thanksgivings, and acts of state which shall be ordered by his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to be printed; and all votes or other matters which are or shall be ordered to be printed by either House of Parliament, and all books commonly used in any of the schools of Ireland, or books containing any matter of devotion or piety, and single advertisements and daily accounts, or bills of goods imported and exported, so as that such accounts or bills do contain no other matters than what have been usually comprised therein.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that the Comptroller or proper officer of the stamp duties shall certify, once in every week, to the Accountant General, the amount of stamp

duties paid by the distributors or other officers of the stamps to the several collectors of inland excise, under a penalty: and that the collectors be made subject for all such stamp duties, so by them received, to the same mode of account, and the same regulations and rules as they are or shall be subject to in respect of any duties by them collected.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that a sum after the rate of 10,000*l.* a year, from the 25th day of December, 1783, to the 25th day of March, 1785, shall be paid to the trustees of the hempen and linen manufacture, out of the aids and duties granted this session of parliament, to be by them applied in such manner as shall appear to them most conducive to promote the linen and hempen manufactures; and that so much of the produce of the duties on teas as shall amount to the sum of 7300*l.* per annum, during said time, shall be placed to the account of his Majesty's hereditary revenue.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that all commodities whatsoever, which shall be imported into this kingdom from Scotland, shall pay the same custom, duty, and no more, as commodities of the same nature imported from England are by law subject to pay.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that so much of the several duties specified in the report of the committee of ways and means, to be granted in lieu of all other duties now payable on export or import of those commodities which they are respectively imposed on, as the hereditary duties of custom and import excise on such commodities would amount to if they continued payable, shall be placed to the account of his Majesty's hereditary revenue, except in respect of the duties on teas, touching which a special provision is made.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that a separate account be kept of all increase of duties, aids and taxes which shall or may accrue by means of the discounts and allowances for prompt payment of the import excise, and allowance of 5*l.* per cent. on payment of customs inwards ceasing to be made.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that the sum of 2000*l.* granted last session to the lord mayor, sheriffs, commons and citizens of the city of Dublin, towards carrying on the Ballast-Office wall, and the sum of 1000*l.* granted this session for improving the harbour of the said city, be paid to certain persons to

be therein named, for making moorings in the said harbour, or otherwise improving the same.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that such surplus as there shall be on the 25th day of December, 1783, of the duties heretofore granted for the payment of the interest and principal of the loan, and payment of the annuities, granted for the several sums of money borrowed pursuant to several acts of parliament, shall be laid out in the purchase of loan debentures, or in paying premiums to such persons as having any Treasury-bills heretofore issued in their possession, shall be willing to take debentures, carrying an interest after the rate of 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in exchange for the same.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that the additional duty of 10d. a gallon for every gallon of aqua vitæ, strong waters or spirits made or distilled within this kingdom for sale; the additional duty of 8d. per gallon on imported brandy, strong waters or spirits perfectly made; the additional duty on foreign spirits above the quality of single spirits; the further additional duty of 10d. for every gallon of rum or other spirits of the growth and produce of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America; the further additional duty of 1s. 8d. on all brandy, geneva or other spirits imported, except spirits of the growth and produce of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America; and the additional duty of 6d. per pack on cards, be applied, in the first place, to pay an interest at the rate of 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per centum per annum for such part of the several principal sums formerly borrowed, and carrying such interest, as shall remain unpaid on the 25th day of December, 1783; and, in the next place, towards payment of an annuity of 24,000*l.* a year to the governor and company of the Bank of Ireland; and, in the next place, towards paying the annuities for the several sums of 265,000*l.* and 175,000*l.* and 300,000*l.* granted by several acts of parliament heretofore passed; and, in the next place, towards payment of the expences which shall or may be incurred by sending or remitting from time to time such of the said several annuities to the city of London as are or shall be made payable there; and, in the next place, towards payment of an interest, after the rate of 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per centum per annum for the debentures, amounting in the whole to the sum of 315,000*l.* which have been issued out of his Majesty's Treasury for the payment of the prizes of the lotteries heretofore established; and, in the next place, towards payment of an interest, after the rate of 3*d.* by the day for each 100*l.* for the several principal sums heretofore borrowed and due upon Treasury-bills, and which shall remain unpaid on the 25th day of December, 1783; and, in the next place, towards

payment of a like interest on such Treasury-bills as shall or may be issued to the persons who shall subscribe any sum or sums, not exceeding in the whole the sum of 140,000*l.* which shall or may be borrowed to pay off such Treasury-bills now outstanding as are to pass current in the receipt of his Majesty's revenue, on or immediately after the 24th day of June, 1784; and, in the next place, towards payment of an interest, not exceeding 3*d.* by the day for each 100*l.* for such further sum or sums of money, not exceeding in the whole the sum of 300,000*l.* as shall or may be borrowed towards supplying any deficiencies which have arisen or may arise in the aids granted for defraying the necessary expences of government; and that the surplus of the said duties be applied towards discharging of the said several sums due by Debentures or by Treasury-bills as shall be directed by parliament.

The Right Honourable *John Foster* presented to the House, according to order, a bill for granting to his Majesty the several aids, duties, rates, impositions and taxes therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the payment of the interest of the sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of the said principal sums in such manner as therein is directed, and for such other purposes as are therein mentioned; which was received and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow morning

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER, 20, 1783.

Mr. *Gardiner*.—I came down this day to express my warmest acknowledgments to this House, as well as to administration, for the kind concern they have expressed for my situation, by keeping the committee of ways and means open for the purpose of receiving, if the House shall judge it proper, a measure which I mean to bring forward, grounded on the committee's report appointed to take into consideration the state of our manufactures.

I find it necessary on this occasion, to acquaint some friends to the measure, who, out of a zeal for its success, wish to have the duties we propose laying, introduced into one of the great money bills, that the duties now payable on these articles are not in the money bills, the forming part of the hereditary revenue, and of course the duties that we may now get laid, must be in a bill by itself, to which bill, if it passes the Houses, I think no minister will dare advise his Majesty to refuse the royal assent. As to this honourable House, I am convinced that this business must gain ground by delay, for every enquiry will add

strength to the reasons for its expediency. I therefore request my Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Foster) will adjourn the committee until Monday.

There are some misconceptions of this business gone abroad, that I intended to include or connect a prohibition of the exportation of the raw material with the duties I wish to guard our manufactures with; I do not mean to blend those objects, they must form separate bills; and for the present I shall confine myself to the import duties on such manufactures as we can make in this kingdom, on which subject I have, for some time past, collected all the information in my power; among others, I have read a number of pamphlets on the subject, particularly one written by a Mr. Foster, Chaplain to the Dowager Countess of Northington, which contains such convincing arguments on the necessity there is to lay on these duties, that any man must be of his opinion.

In what I propose, I am very far from having any idea of prohibitory duties, I only want restrictive ones, and them only on such articles as can be manufactured here, as I before mentioned.

I think it proper to advert to somewhat that happened a few days since, I mean the conduct of people out of doors, who filled the avenues of this House, as if to intimidate its members: I have always been supporter of the dignity of the House—I sent to them, and declared what I now do, that if such improper conduct is persisted in, I have done with the business. I have, however, the pleasure to find, that the master manufacturers have entered into very strong resolutions on this subject, for preventing a repetition of such unwarrantable behaviour.

Mr. *Hartley* informed the House, that a great number of weavers had waited on him, and assured him the violence complained of did not proceed from them, but gave him to understand, that they were set on by persons enemies to the measure in question; he advised them to carry themselves in a quiet peaceable manner, and parliament would do every thing in their power to serve them.

Mr. *Gardiner* presented a petition from the white cotton manufacturers.

Referred to the committee to enquire into the state of the trade of this kingdom.

Sir *John Blaquiere* moved, that the petition from the working silk weavers, now lying on the table, be referred to said committee.—Referred accordingly.

Mr. *Hartley* presented a petition from the sail-cloth manufacturers of the city of Dublin, praying to be put on an equalizing footing.—Referred to the committee of trade.

Mr. *Green* moved for leave to bring in a bill for regulating the tolls and customs of cities and towns corporate. He said, the

the exactions practised in the present mode of claiming the tolls demanded a serious investigation. That a woman coming to town with three eggs, the toll-gatherer demanded one, she refusing, he broke the three. Many other instances of oppression, he said, could be adduced.

Sir *Richard Musgrave* said, that a ton of coals which cost 30s. paid, on being taken into some cities, 4s. for the toll. He also said, there were great oppressions in collecting tolls.

The *Provost* said, this was a delicate affair, and hoped gentlemen in the progress of the bill, would give full time for gentlemen to turn it in their thoughts.

Mr. *Hartley* remarked, that to bring in a bill to regulate the tolls of the whole kingdom, would militate against some corporations which had charters; and corporations on many occasions had proved themselves the bulwark of the liberties of the people.

Sir *Edward Newenham* said, that his wish was to preserve the trade of Ireland; that he had on a former day, mentioned Ireland's not being included in the commercial treaty with the United States; that the Secretary, who had behaved with the greatest candour, was now in his place, and he requested to know from him, whether he had heard any thing farther relative to Ireland's being named in that treaty.

Mr. *Pelham* thanked the Hon. Knight for his candid manner in agitating this business, but assured him, that nothing material had, as yet, come to his knowledge relative to that trade. He said, that he was a friend to the trade of Ireland.

Sir *Edward Newenham* observed, that he never made an assertion in that House, which was not grounded on indisputable evidence; that he believed the Secretary's intentions were friendly to the trade of Ireland, but insisted that Ireland had a right to support her own trade against English factors and jobbers; therefore he would move the House on a future day, for an address to his Majesty to enter into a treaty with the United States of America, for the kingdom of Ireland. Sir *Edward* then stated several instances of distress experienced by Irish subjects on the continent, for want of consuls or ministers on the part of Ireland, and which, he said, he would shew parliament the necessity of.

The *Provost* rose to propose to the House the necessity of having those professorships instituted by Sir Patrick Dunn, revived. He said, the advantages of having public schools and lectures for young gentlemen intended for the professions of anatomy, chemistry, and physic, were so apparent, that he need not expatiate on their utility. In 1747, there was an act to establish three professorships; but the law was so defective it was not carried into execution. The college of physicians appointed six professor-

ships. The great abilities of Sir Nathaniel Barry, Dr. Cleghorn, and Dr. Perceval were well known. The late Dr. Barbor was esteemed an ornament to the faculty. To establish a physical school in this kingdom might be done at the expence of 300*l.* per year ; which he did not consider as any thing when put in competition with the great object in view. He apprehended it should not be confined to any religion, or to reject foreigners. He said, there was no occasion to erect a new building, for that a house could be taken for the purpose, in which there might be a public room.

Mr. *Browne*.—There are now professors existing in the college, and the lectures in the sciences of anatomy, chymistry, &c. are well attended.

The *Provost* moved to revive the professorships established by Sir Patrick Dunn ; and that a committee be appointed to enquire into the state of the public schools of this kingdom.

Mr. *Browne* moved that the college might be at liberty to lay plans before the committee, and hoped that if any part of the proposition made by the Right Hon. Gentleman, should militate against any foundation in the university, they might be permitted to object to it.—A committee was appointed.

The *Provost* then presented a petition from the trustees under the will of Sir Patrick Dunn.—Referred to said committee.

Helikewise moved, that a committee be appointed.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* said, he had given notice some time ago, he would move on this day for an address to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to fill up the vacancies in our courts of justice, occasioned by the death of the late Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and of one of the judges of the court of common pleas. He said, that at a time which required the greatest attendance in the courts, and when it was the common talk of every company, that there were to be twelve judges, and that the House of Lords had addressed his Majesty on that head, and only seven doing the business, he could not account for such neglect ; he then moved his address.

Secretary *Pelham* assured the House, he would always take pleasure in giving every possible information. As to filling up the vacant offices, no instructions are as yet come on that head ; but the address from the House of Lords to his Majesty has been transmitted.

The *Provost* was convinced that the Right Hon. Gentleman, who had moved this address, had done it for the public good, and with the best of motives ; he hoped, however, he would not press it at this time, when the very measure was perhaps agreed on : the melancholy event of the death of the two judges was greatly to be lamented ; but is there any complaint of a delay

of business in the courts? He had heard none. In his opinion, this address would be conceiving an indirect imputation on the gentlemen who now so very worthily fill the bench. He said, that on the death of the late Lord Chancellor, a similar motion was made in that House by a Right Honourable Gentleman, but it was then, as I hope it will be now, declared improper for parliament to interfere; he would therefore vote against it.—The question was put and negatived.

Read the bill of supply—Ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1783.

The Clerk called over the names of the members, in order to ballot for a committee to try the Athboy petition, when the following gentlemen were chosen and sworn:

Arthur French, Esq;
Godfrey Greer, Esq;
N. Colthurst, Esq;
Simon Digby, Esq;
Capt. L. Tottenham,
Gen. Cunningham,
W. Montgomery, Esq;
Lord C. Fitzgerald,

John Wolfe, Esq;
Peter Latouche, Esq;
Robert Dillon, Esq;
A. Montgomery, Esq;
Hon. H. Skeffington,
Sir James May, Bart.
H. Coddington, Esq;

Hon. *John Burke* observed, that Tuesday was fixed upon by an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Molyneux) for bringing forward a motion respecting a tax upon absentees; on which day there was another object of discussion, besides a ball at the castle: He therefore requested him to postpone it to some other day.

Mr. *Molyneux* readily agreed to defer his motion to Wednesday.

Mr. *O'Hara* gave notice, that he would on Monday make a motion, demonstrative that this kingdom maintained the augmented establishment of her army, not from the necessity of her own affairs, but from affection to Great Britain, and in order to give that country every possible support and assistance.

The House in a committee, Mr. Foster in the chair.

Read the first money bill a second time.

Mr. Foster reported, and the third reading was appointed for to-morrow.

Mr. *Cuffe* moved, that lists be laid before the House of the voters of the city of Cork.—Ordered accordingly.

Mr. *Hartley* presented a petition from the commissioners of the inland navigation, for aid to make part of the River Shannon navigable;

Mr. *Foster* moved, that instructions be given to the committee of ways and means, to insert a clause for an allowance on the tare of hops imported.—Ordered accordingly.

Mr. *Foster* observed, that it was a matter of great importance that the liberal grants of parliament for improving and carrying on works and manufactures, should be applied to those purposes, only, as otherwise they became an injury to the public, being raised by taxes upon the industrious, and often squandered by the prodigal, or hoarded by ~~the avaricious~~; to remedy this in future, he said, should be his care, and as a beginning he moved, “that whereas the sum of 2000*l.* had been granted to Thomas Smith, of Balbriggan, in the county of Dublin, cotton manufacturer, for the purpose of carrying on certain works, by him mentioned in a petition to the House, the said sum of 2000*l.* should not be paid unto him, till he shall enter into recognizance in his Majesty’s court of exchequer, himself in 2000*l.* and two sureties in 1000*l.* each, for the due expenditure of that money, in completing the work aforesaid, according to the tenor of his own petition.—Agreed to unanimously.

Mr. *Hartley* said, that the corporation of weavers of the city of Dublin, anxious to appear to parliament, as they really were, the enemies of riot and disorder, and having the fullest reliance that effectual care would be taken by the House to relieve the distresses of the working people; had requested him (Mr. *Hartley*,) as one of the city representatives, to lay before the House their sentiments, which they had expressed in some resolutions. Mr. *Hartley* then read the resolutions, which were drawn up with much propriety, advising the working people to avoid all riotous and tumultuous assemblings, to rely upon the wisdom and goodness of parliament, which was seriously engaged in considering their distresses, and the means of procuring them employment; and assuring them that nothing could frustrate and defeat the good intentions of their friends, but disorderly proceedings.

Mr. *Holmes* moved, that the proper officer do lay before the House, an account of the number of breweries in the kingdom, and the amount of the excise paid by the brewers.—Ordered.

Mr. *Hartley* moved, that it be an instruction to the committee of trade to regulate the exportation of rabbit fur.—Ordered.

House in a committee,—Mr. *Foster* in the chair.

Went through the reading of the second money bill, paragraph by paragraph.—Agreed to the same.

Read also the second time, the bill of stamp duties.—Agreed to the same.

Mr. Foster reported both bills.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1783.

Lord *Delvin* moved for leave to bring in a bill, to enable Lord Louth to raise 6000*l.* on his estates.—Granted.

Mr. *Foster* presented the loan bill, which, he said, had two principal objects; the first, to borrow the sum of 300,000*l.* and the second, for application of 100,000*l.* surplus of the appropriated duties.—The bill proposed borrowing the money by exchequer bills, by issuing debentures, and by one or more lotteries, and applying the surplus of the appropriated duties, to the private purchase of debentures, by which expedient near 110,000*l.* might be got in, to the great relief of the nation.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* said, this private purchasing of debentures, though no doubt a good scheme, did not answer his idea of a sinking fund.

Sir *Francis Hutchinson* declared he had strong objections to the raising of money by lotteries: They induced a spirit of gaming among the lower ranks of people, highly detrimental to their morals.

Mr. *Foster*, in answer to this objection, said, the scheme of a sinking fund had been found ineffectual in another country for lessening the national debt; and added, that he was no friend to lotteries, but as lottery gambling was carried on at present, when we had no lottery in the kingdom, and would probably continue so, we might as well gamble with a lottery of our own; and that it was the readiest way to provide for 140,000*l.* to make good the treasury bills now coming into a course of payment.

Mr. *Kearney* said, his objection lay alike against all lotteries, whether of this country or any other, and wished they might be precluded.

Mr. *Molyneux*.—Sir, when I bring forward my promised motion for an augmentation of the salary of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, give me leave to say, that if I did not think that such an increase of salary as I shall propose was absolutely necessary for the honour and dignity of the kingdom, I should not so far deviate from my principles of oeconomy, as to propose such an addition to the national expences. There are cases where oeconomy becomes penury: I have no attachment to the present Lord Lieutenant, but if 22 years ago the present stipend was thought a just one, it surely cannot be so at this time, when

almost every necessary of life is enhanced, and luxuries are so increased; at the period I mentioned, the Chief Governors were not constant residents as now, and the vast additional expence the annual sessions must induce, urges the necessity of increasing this stipend. I hope, therefore, no false delicacy or affectation of economy from the other side of the House will make gentlemen oppose the motion, which is, "That an humble address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, that he will please to transmit to his Majesty the sense of this House, that the present salary of the Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom is inadequate to the expence, and praying that his Majesty will be most graciously pleased to raise the same to 20,000*l.* a year."

Mr. *Daniel Toler* seconded the motion, and after pointing out some further motives from the circumstances of the nation in 1758, to the present time, said he was not induced to adopt this measure by any hope of favour or emolument from the present Lord Lieutenant or any other, as he declared, that while he sat in the House he would never seek or accept of any place.

The *Attorney General* said, that he had the honour of a communication with his Excellency on the subject of the motion made by the Honourable Member, which it was his duty to state to the House; that the result of that communication was a decided resolution, on the part of his Excellency, to refuse an augmentation of the salary annexed to his office, so far as he thought himself at liberty to deliver his own opinion, or exercise his own judgment on the subject; that this resolution had been formed by his Excellency on this ground, that though he found the appointment, considered in itself, to be inadequate to the situation, he had no idea that the private fortune of any nobleman who should be advanced to the office in which his Majesty had been pleased to place him, should not in some measure contribute to the expence; but that circumstanced as he was, he would neither accept or refuse without having a previous communication with his Majesty; and in order to that communication with his Majesty, the *Attorney General* moved, that the consideration of the subject should be postponed to Monday fortnight.

Mr. *Molyneux*.—When I made this motion, I stood singly in proposing it. My reason for bringing forward an address to his Majesty, for an augmentation to the salary of the Lord Lieutenant of 4000*l.* per ann. was in order to have the dignity of that important station supported, in a manner that would add credit and honour to a free nation. We are not now that country we formerly were; we are a free people, a new and a commercial people. The representative of Majesty, in a free country, should be maintained with a splendor and dignity becoming such a station. It is for the purpose of supporting the office in a proper manner, that I move for this address—it is not for the man. I have no perso-

nal regards for the present nobleman, who fills the honourable office of Lord Lieutenant with so much reputation, as could in the least induce me to make this motion; no personal allusion actuated my conduct; my motive is, that the office should be maintained with suitable dignity. It has been suggested by a Right Hon. Gentleman, that English noblemen may come over here to fill that station, who may be obliged (as has in some instances been the case) to appropriate part of their fortunes in supporting the place of Viceroy in Ireland. I disclaim the idea of a nobleman of Great Britain being under the necessity of spending any part of his own fortune in supporting the dignity of a Lord Lieutenant. I put the present Lord Lieutenant out of the question, I only look to the office itself. If there was any doubt of the propriety of this measure, the Right Honourable Gentleman has obviated them; he acknowledges the inadequacy of the salary of the Chief Governor. I shall oppose the motion to put off the consideration of this measure. If it is necessary to be done, let gentlemen join their sentiments with me, and let it be considered now.

Right Hon. the *Provoost*.—I hope that there will be no division on this subject. I remember, during the administration of Lord Halifax, there was an address presented to his Majesty, to augment the salary of the Lord Lieutenant from 12,000*l.* to 16,000*l.* per year. On the motion for the address being made in this House, it was resolved, that on a subject of this magnitude, the Lord Lieutenant should have time to consider of it. I am decidedly of opinion to give the Chief Governor a fortnight's time to consider of this subject, and to communicate it to his Majesty. I hope we shall meet the question in a manner the importance of it deserves, and that we shall gratify the Lord Lieutenant, in complying with his request of postponing this subject for a fortnight.

Mr. *Lodge Morris* said, that the exceeding handsome and disinterested manner in which his Excellency had been pleased to express himself through the Right Hon. Gentleman, although it might not be a sufficient reason with the Hon. Gentleman who considered himself as moving a general resolution respecting no particular administration or Lord Lieutenant, yet certainly the communication through the Attorney General was such as should weigh with him in point of delicacy, not to embarrass a nobleman whose ideas were as enlarged as his situation, and whose wish was to acquaint his Majesty, before the House came to any resolution upon the subject respecting his representative in this kingdom; but that if the Hon. Gentleman thought proper, notwithstanding, to persist in his motion, he could not deny his assent to a resolution, the justness of which would meet unanimous approbation, if it

had not been for the very great and sensible delicacy of his Excellency.

Sir Henry Cavendish.—The conduct of gentlemen on the other side of the House, resembles that of a young woman, who is asked to fix her wedding-day. She puts it off with a little coquetry, hoping by that means to have it a little sooner forced on her.

Ministry, in the same manner, half refuse the favour intended to the Lord Lieutenant, or at least plead to put it off. I will not be the violent lover in the present case. I will take them at their words. I will allow the fortnight they desire; and this, the rather, as there has been no account of the Lord Lieutenant's expences laid before the House.

In England, whenever an application is made to the House for an increase of the civil list establishment, the expences of that establishment are laid before the House, to prove that the augmentation required is absolutely necessary. I am not sufficiently informed that it is absolutely necessary to increase the salary of our Chief Governor. In the time of Lord Halifax, there used to be Lords Justices; to maintain the dignity of their station an increase of salary was necessary at that time, but it is not so now; we have not had any Lords Justices for some years past. As to the present Lord Lieutenant, it is not intended to have a reference to him, as he has a good office in England of 7000*l.* per year. He says, he wishes it may not be considered with respect to himself.

The Attorney General.—As to the coquetry of which the Right Hon. Baronet has spoken, it is merely from his own feelings. If he were in our situation, he feels he should play the coquette, and he therefore attributes his feelings to us: But his Excellency has given a decided opinion without reservation, that he will not himself accept of any augmentation of his salary. As to his successors standing the substitute of Majesty, he does not think himself competent to decide without his Majesty's commands.

Sir Richard Musgrave.—The motion has a very questionable appearance, in coming from the Hon. Gentleman who makes it. —A few nights ago he was a strenuous advocate for retrenchment in the military establishment; contrary to the wishes of this House, as that establishment was supported by a large and dignified majority of it; besides, it was a debt of gratitude due from this nation to England. He said, he would analyse the two nations, in order to shew the Hon. Gentleman's consistency; for consistency would give weight to his arguments. He urged economy in the military establishment very much, contrary to the wishes of the House, and now he is guilty of wanton prodigality in encreasing the expence of the civil establishment: He said, wanton prodigality, because the motion came merely from

himself, and therefore was wanton; but if it was not, he supposed it came from some private hint, and that there was some secret understanding in the business; if so, he congratulated his country on having the assistance of a gentleman of such distinguished abilities.

Mr. Molynaux.—An Hon. Gentleman has mentioned, that one day I vote for an increase of salary, and at another day for retrenchments. I have no idea of uniform opposition in order to pay a kind of compliment in going over to administration. I will refuse every expence where it is to support a wrong measure; but the dignity of the nation is concerned that a proper provision be made to support the office of our Viceroy.—But the gentleman has given reasons from his own feelings; he has spoken as he would act; and his speech looks like a kind of envy that I have gotten the lead—as it were the start of him—but I will with pleasure yield the way to him, for I declare upon my honour, that self was never in my consideration.

Mr. T. Burgh.—I cannot conceive the necessity of postponing the address. Is it that a private letter may be written to his Majesty to know whether he will accept a public letter?—The address of the Commons of Ireland—No—the Commons are for themselves the best judges of the question, and to their determination it ought to be left.

Mr. Daly.—I think we should take the sense of the House on this subject now; for, if on its being communicated to his Majesty, he should be agreeable to it, and we afterwards should not pass it, we should be disagreeably situated.

Mr. St. George.—If this motion is to be negatived, let it be negatived now. At a future time we may not have such an English nobleman of great abilities as a Lord Lieutenant, as might chuse to spend his own private property in supporting the dignity of this nation. I shall vote that the address be disposed of now.

Attorney General.—If the House agrees, I shall drop my motion of deferring the question, and enter upon the question of the address itself: Let me too take leave to observe, that when I delivered his Excellency's message, I did not speak my own private opinion, for were I to speak my own private opinion, I declare I think the appointment of the Lord Lieutenant much too small. The lapse of many years has rendered it inadequate.

Sir *Edward Newenham* said, he could not consent to the Right Hon. Gentleman's withdrawing his motion; for as he (Mr. Yelverton) declared that it was the wish of the Lord Lieutenant to postpone it, he could not believe the mover would in an instant change his opinion so contradictory to his own words.

The sense of the House appearing in favour of the Attorney General's withdrawing his motion,

Sir *Edward Newenham* said, that since the House was content, he must agree, but he declared, as prodigality was the consequence of such grants, he would, if he was the single negative, divide the House upon it; that measures, not men, ruled his conduct. The House divided.

On the question being put, whether the House do agree to address his Majesty,

Ayes,	—	—	77
Noes,	—	—	54

Tellers for the ayes, Mr. Molyneux, and Mr. Burgh.

Tellers for the noes, Sir Henry Cavendish and Sir Edward Newenham.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* stated a doubt whether gentlemen in the custody of the Serjeant at Arms had a right to vote.

It seemed to be the opinion of the House and of the Speaker, that every member present at a debate had a right to vote.

Sir *John Blaquiere* said, that the salary of the Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant was totally inadequate to support the expences attending that situation; that he had been in that station himself, and if it had not been for the indulgence of that House he should have been out of pocket. That the duties of that station were extensive, and required great abilities and assiduity. He could wish that men of ability and of connection in a neighbouring kingdom should be appointed to that station, and that gentlemen who had filled the office might not be under the necessity to accept of places, the salaries of which they spent out of this kingdom. He then continued—I move that an humble address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, requesting that the sense of this House be laid before his Majesty, that the salary of the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant should have an augmentation of 2500*l.* per year.

Mr. *T. Burgh*.—From 1758 to 1783 the salary has only been 2500*l.* per year, and some accidental fees. Feeling it therefore too little for the station, I shall second the motion.

Sir *Edward Newenham* expressed his surprize at a motion of such consequence being made, without full notice of it, that gentlemen might have time to turn it in their thoughts—are we to sit here voting away the treasure of the nation? Gentlemen who are taken by surprize, are not aware that we are laying the foundation for a large arrear, and consequently new taxes for the next sessions of parliament: Secretaries have been well provided for by jobbing douceurs or lucrative sinecure employments; we are sent here to do the national business, and not to aggrandize individuals; for his part he protested (on behalf of those whom he represented) in full parliament, against such profusion of the public money; the public were deceived; they heard a talk or profession of œconomy, but parliament acted with an alarming

degree of prodigality; he observed, that such a motion ought to be duly considered; he supposed they would next ask salaries for the private secretaries, the coachman, the cook, and the Castle scullion boys.

Attorney General.—This motion is to prevent secretaries from obtaining patent places. This has been the case with those who now enjoy the place of master of the rolls, the chancellor of the exchequer, clerk of the hanaper, the clerk of the council, and the vice-treasurers, who all spend their incomes out of the kingdom. There is but one exception; (alluding to Sir John Blaquiere) he was secretary to a late Lord Lieutenant, he has obtained an honourable employment from the bounty of his sovereign, the whole income of which he expends entirely in this kingdom, and is now become a citizen here. The place of Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant should be the object of the honourable ambition of persons of rank in their own country, of personal credit and influence; of such credit as may influence the measures of the ministry of Great Britain.

Mr. Alexander Montgomery.—We are voting away the purse of the nation to increase the salaries of the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary.—I beg gentlemen to consider what the Secretaries of the Lord Lieutenant have had: One Lord Lieutenant's Secretary has had a house in the park worth 50,000*l.* I think the Secretaries should support one another. If the present Lord Lieutenant's Secretary keeps his promises with us; I think he would deserve it better than any one else.

Sir Henry Cavendish.—The Right Hon. Gentleman will keep his promises if gentlemen will let him. Gentlemen may vote away 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.* at a time. You have increased the salary of the Lord Lieutenant, and now you are asked to increase the salary of the Secretary 2500*l.* per year. The House ought to have time to consider this motion. It is not the person I allude to—it is the office. It has been mentioned that the vice-treasurers spend their incomes out of this kingdom; but I know one vice-treasurer (alluding, it is supposed, to Mr. Flood) who, if he had continued in that office, would have spent its income in this country.

Mr. Cuffe.—The expences of the Secretary have very much increased.

Mr. Parsons observed, that the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary were like the bishops of old, who used to cry on their promotions, *Nolo Episcopari*.

Mr. Kearney was also against it.

Hon. Wesley Pole moved the increase might be only 1500*l.*

Sir Henry Cavendish said, I am against this unceasing prodigality of the public money; our manufacturers are starving; rather give this enormous sum in bounties, than pamper the rich; feed

the hungry and the starving before you doubly cloath the rich—œconomy was promised, but prodigality is daily practised—there must be an end of it—the nation sinks under it, and debt must accumulate.

Mr. *Corry*.—I rise to express my disapprobation of granting additional salaries, more especially when œconomy was recommended in the speech; but that œconomy was respecting the Genevans.

Sir *John Blaquiere*.—I would be willing to make my motion agreeable to the House; I move, that instead of 2500*l.* per year, it be amended to 2000*l.* per year.

The question was put, whether the amendment of the words 1500*l.* per year, do stand a part of his motion?

Ayes,	—	—	21
Noes,	—	—	86

The question being put on the original motion, with the amendment of 2000*l.* per year,

Ayes,	—	—	71
Noes,	—	—	28

Sir *John Blaquiere* presented a petition from the silk manufacturers of the city of Dublin.

Order of the day for going into the heads of a bill for laying additional duties on wine, hides, tallow, &c.—Deferred to Monday.

Ordered also, the third reading of the act for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, several duties on stamped vellum, parchment, and paper, be on Monday.—

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1783.

The following gentlemen were, by ballot, chosen to be a committee to try the merits of the petition, complaining of an undue election and return for the city of Cork:

Nicholas Westby, Esq;	Hon. Den. Browne,
Hon. Chas. Skeffington,	Hon. Edw. Ward,
William Todd Jones, Esq;	George Ross, Esq;
Alex. Crookshank, Esq;	Chas. Cuthbert, Esq;
Hon. James Browne,	T. Burgh, (of Athboy) Esq;
Sir John Browne,	Crom. Price, Esq;
Samuel Hayes, Esq;	Marcus Beresford, Esq;
Cha. Powell Leslie, Esq;	

Mr. *Gardiner* made several motions for papers relative to the exportation of manufactures; which were ordered.

Mr. *Hartley* said he had a petition to present of the utmost consequence to this kingdom, which he should preface by observing, that during the late war an act had passed in England, suspending a part of the act of navigation, by admitting the entry of tobaccos from neutral places, but as Ireland was not considered in that light, the importation of tobaccos from this country to Great Britain, was consequently prohibited; so that our merchants are precluded from sending a single hoghead to England, while the merchants of that kingdom, when they have more tobacco than they can readily sell, may pour in as much as they please into Ireland, to the ruin and destruction of the American and West India trade, we have so dearly purchased. He therefore offered a petition from the merchants constituting the Council of the Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. *Polbam* said, that a petition from the merchants, of Dublin ought to meet with every respect; but the navigation act was a very old law, and had been adopted by Ireland.

Mr. *Foster*—Whenever this question comes to be debated, I will shew that it is one of the most important that can come before the House; it is no less than “whether we shall take advantage of our national situation or not?” It is a question that deserves our utmost attention, and I am happy to see it so respectably brought forward as by the Hon. Gentleman who represents the city of Dublin. The navigation act prohibits the importation of goods into Great-Britain or Ireland, from any place but the place of their growth; and by the late qualification of that act, they were allowed to be imported from *neutral places*. Ireland is not a neutral place, but a nation in strictest amity, and is therefore excluded from the benefit of this trade, at the same time England may send these goods hither: now, in my opinion, the two countries should stand on the same footing, and it requires no new law to regulate this business, it only requires that the old law should be construed in the same manner in both nations; for if Britain will not receive these goods from Ireland, neither should Ireland receive them from Britain.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon*—I hope the style of this petition will be changed, as I would give all due consideration to a question of this magnitude, but cannot consent to receive a petition from a body of men styling themselves—a council of a chamber of commerce—a title utterly unknown to the house, either as a chartered, or a corporate body, and therefore howsoever respectable the petitioners, this House can take no cognizance of the petition.

Mr. *Hussey*—It was but last week that the House received a petition under this very title.

Attorney General—It was not received without objection: I did object to it, though too late, for the question had been decided to receive it.

Mr. *Beresford*.—I have great respect for the merchants, who, I am told, form what is called the chamber of commerce; but this House cannot recognize a body unknown to law; nor indeed have the merchants any cause to complain on this account, as they may come before us with a title much superior to that which they have assumed—they may come as the guild of merchants of the city of Dublin, or as individual merchants.

Mr. *Hussey*.—They do come before us as merchants; the title of the petition is that “of merchants *composing* the chamber of commerce.” It is the undoubted and unalienable right of the subject to petition parliament, and on a question of trade. It is highly indecent to reject the petition of a most respectable body of merchants, even if it was deficient in point of style, which does not appear to be the present case.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon*.—I must still object to receiving or reading this petition until the title of it shall be altered. The Hon. Gentleman says, composing the chamber of commerce, that is, the very thing we do not know; what is the chamber of commerce? merely a self-erected body, and the name a title usurped: If those gentlemen who *compose* the chamber of commerce will condescend to apply to parliament, by their own proper names, they may be very sure of a favourable attention.

Sir *H. Cavendish*.—The Hon. Gentleman who brought in this petition cannot alter the title of it; the House ought to receive it as it is; and I warn gentlemen to beware of curtailing the liberty of the subject, or abridging their privileges.

Mr. *Hartley*.—I have not communicated with the gentlemen who signed this petition, and therefore I cannot take upon me to alter the style of it.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* moved the order of the day.

Mr. *Molynaux* complained, that instead of previous questions, the other side of the House had too often made use of the order of the day to defeat the intentions of gentlemen who were anxious for their country's service.

Mr. *Mason*.—The Hon. Gentleman who brought forward this petition has declared, that he cannot make any alteration in the style of it. I for the present consider it as dismissed, and call for the order of the day; for however highly I may respect those persons who are said to compose what is called the council of the chamber of commerce, their style is totally unknown to the constitution: they are neither a body corporate or politic, by charter or by act of parliament, and therefore their petition cannot be received unless they put their names to it.

Mr. *Daly*.—To every matter which respects commerce, I am ready to pay the utmost attention, as to the foundation on which the future hopes of this country are built, and am therefore for entering into the business proposed by this petition; but it is first

necessary I should know who the petitioners are, and for what purpose they should sign their names to it, for if not, this House can take no cognizance of it. Should we begin a practice of receiving petitions signed by *nobody*, we might be for ever plagued with trifling, groundless or seditious petitions; for which reason we must respect our own orders, and receive none but such as have annexed to them the names of persons actually responsible for their contents.

Sir Edward Newenham.—The mover cannot alter the title of the petition; it would be forgery—the members of that council are men of character and public virtue; they will not stoop to alter their title to please the whim of this House.—Will you refuse to receive the petitions of the people? Will you refuse to receive the petitions of those merchants, by whose industry the revenues of the crown are supported?—If that be your system, you absolutely dissolve the bonds of the governing and governed. You never thought of moving previous questions when you were voting salaries to Viceroy and Secretaries; but when the main pillars of the state petition you, you treat them with contempt. The people must submit to constant insults and injustice. The petition is signed by your worthy member, who presents it; it is signed by a respectable merchant, Mr. Marston. Are not these names enough to give it a sanction?

Right Hon. John Scott.—I really think you have made this a matter of importance, which in its own nature might have been easily accommodated. There is no man in the House who will not allow that Mr. Hartley's name is in itself sufficient to gain this petition every degree of attention, nor does he require the strength of an usurped title, unknown to law, to give him consequence—If those men usurp the title of the council of the chamber of commerce, another body of merchants may assume another title, and then we shall have merchant against merchant; but I say Mr. Hartley's name gives infinitely more dignity and weight to this petition than a thousand usurped titles of president and vice president of the council of the chamber of commerce—titles that we in vain look for in the statute book or in our journals, or in the charters of corporations. Suppose a stranger was to search for them, he would find them mere nullities. The assumption of these high sounding titles between merchant and merchant is unjust; they have no right to baptize themselves by general aggregate names—I honour the profession of a merchant as much as any man, and I am as desirous to promote the commerce of this country; for which reasons I wish to have the petition before the House, and this can only be done by withdrawing it, and altering the style in such a manner that it may be fit for us to receive.

Mr. Brownlow.—This is a petition of great importance, and should have weight with the other side of the House. If there were

but the two names that have been mentioned, it ought to be received; but it is signed on behalf of a numerous and most respectable body of merchants.

Mr. Scott.—I have no objection to receiving it, as the petition of the gentlemen whose names have been mentioned, if it is so expressed; the Hon. Gentleman who introduced it was going to comply, and to alter it consonant to that idea, the pen was in his hand for that purpose, and I desire, that it may be remembered that the gentlemen on that side of the House, who persuaded him not to alter the style, are the persons, who object to the petition, not we, who refuse to admit of usurped titles.

Mr. William Ponsonby.—I imagine if the question be put upon the petition in its present style, it will not be received; I would therefore advise the Hon. Gentleman to withdraw and alter it; for though it would give me much pain to reject the petition of a body of merchants, or of a single merchant, or even of the lowest person, yet I would rather do that than violate the forms of this House.

Mr. Lodge Morris.—The title of this petition does not accord with our laws; but as the Hon. Gentleman who introduced it may withdraw it, I hoped for a mere punctilio he will not suffer a benefit to his country to be lost.

Mr. Carry.—I entreat gentlemen to consider what will be the consequence, if every man who proposes any thing disagreeable to the minister, is to have his mouth stopped by calling for the order of the day. I beg that some regard may be had to the privilege of the House, and the privileges of the people: They have been both broken this night, and in a most important instance relative to the rising commerce of this country; I do protest against such proceedings; the rights of the subject should always be favoured in this House, and if a body of men not hostile to the laws and the constitution, petition this House, the most favourable construction should be given to their petition: but to reject it in the manner we are about to do at present, is a daring violation of the rights of the people and of the constitution of parliament. Sir, it is the inherent right of every person in the kingdom to petition parliament, so that the petition is signed by an ostensible person, and this, I find, is signed by an honourable and most respectable Member of the House, who represents the metropolis of this kingdom. It is a flagrant breach of the rights of the subject and the privilege of parliament.

Mr. Griffith.—Objections have been made to the title of the petition as unknown to law, but there are many respectable bodies of men in this country, unknown to law; the volunteers of Ireland are not recognized by law, and will any man say they have not a right to petition parliament? [Here Mr. Griffith was called to order.]

Sir John Blaquiere—I rise to order, for the subject before us is, whether we are to receive this petition? That admired body of men the volunteers has been alluded to, but that body of men is not the present question.

Sir Henry Cavendish—The standing order of the House was referred to a committee, but we have had no report yet.

Mr. Jones—The rights of the subject are always to be maintained. This petition is from a body of men not illegal, and therefore ought to be received. This gentleman adverted to the majority of the other side of the House.

Prime Serjeant *Kelly*—I feel myself extremely hurt by some gentlemen making any distinction between one side of the House and the other: I say place ought to make no difference, and I trust there are honourable men on both sides. I am also hurt at hearing a minister's majority mentioned; no man who has not the merits of the question with him can have a majority: I hope it will never be presumed that a majority can be obtained in any other way. For my part, though I hold an office under government, I never will object to this petition for the stile; there is no fault in the stile; here is a select body of men called the chamber of commerce; the use of names is to know who the persons petitioning are, in case of any impropriety we may call them before us. To this petition we have the name of an honourable member of this House, he is answerable for it; it is acknowledged to be a matter of importance, and shall we for mere matter of form, reject an important matter so well authenticated? No, though I am on this side of the House, and will support government in every honourable measure, and in none but honourable measures, I will receive this petition; no power on earth shall prevent me. [Here a loud clapping taking place, the gallery was ordered to be cleared. As soon as that order was complied with, and the House was cleared,]

Mr. Fitzgibbon warmly censured the indecent conduct of the gallery, and moved that the House should enter into a resolution, "That a gross and indecent outrage, by clapping of hands, having been committed this night by the strangers admitted to the gallery, resolved that the serjeant at arms do from time to time take into his custody any stranger or strangers that he shall see or be informed of to be in the House, while any committee of the whole House, or the committee of privileges is sitting; and that this order be strictly enforced." [The motion was supported by a great number of the treasury side, and opposed by the other part of the House as strenuously.]

Mr. Flood, who came in late, was an able advocate for the admission of constituents to hear their debates, and declared that if gentlemen were not ashamed of their conduct, they had nothing

to fear from its being known, and that it was unreasonable and unjust to preclude all from the galleries for the intemperate conduct of a few.

The motion was then carried.

Ayes	_____	_____	157
Noes	_____	_____	72

Mr. *Hartley's* petition was then precluded by the question on the order of the day, which was carried without a division.

The order of the day was then read for the commitment of the third and fourth money bills; pursuant thereto the House resolved into a committee, where the bills were read paragraph by paragraph, agreed to, and ordered to be reported to-morrow.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1783.

The committee to inquire into the state of the trade between this kingdom and Portugal, sat for some time, after which the House resumed.

The order of the day being read for the trial of the controverted election for the town of Baltimore, the following persons were nominated as a select committee;

John Toler, Esq;	William Godley, Esq;
Hon. William Agar,	James Bernard, Esq;
Robert Leigh, Esq;	Thomas Smyth, Esq;
George Roth, Esq;	Hon. Robert Howard
Right Hon. John O'Neil,	Cornelius Bolton, Esq;
Robert Shapland Carew, Esq;	Alexander Montgomery, Esq;
Hon. George Jocelyn,	Robert Rofs, Esq;
Ponsonby Tottenham, Esq;	

Mr. *Foster* reported, pursuant to order, from the committee of the whole House, appointed to take into consideration an engrossed bill, entitled an act for granting to his majesty certain duties on beer, ale, strong waters, &c. that they had gone through the same.

The committee of ways and means having sat, and the House being again resumed,

A motion was made, that the House do agree with the committee, that sixpence additional duty be laid on every gallon of rum, and eight pence on every gallon of brandy imported, from the 25th day of December, 1783, to the 25th of March, 1784, inclusively.

The *Provoost* said, that the adoption of the additional 6*d.* on rum would be, not only prejudicial to the respectable mercan-

tile city he had the honour to represent, but also to the equally respectable gentlemen of the provinces of Connaught, Leinster, and Munster, who were engaged in pasturage. Any injury done the provision trade must hurt them, and they were of too much consequence to the state to be overlooked by that House. His constituents particularly, whose interests he would, while he had breath, endeavour to maintain, as well in his every other situation, as in that of a member of parliament, would be much damaged in the provision trade they carry on, especially to the West-Indies. Gentlemen must know that the return made was not in specie, but in rum; therefore by laying the additional 6*d.* a gallon on rum, the consumption must be lessened, in proportion as the tax increased; how this would operate, needed no explanation. He said that the merchants of Cork did not petition, because they apprehended that the mode of application would be too dilatory; but contented themselves with communicating their desires to him by a letter signed with very respectable names: [Here he read the letter as part of his speech] The laying on the additional 6*d.* would also give a superiority to the people of America in the commerce they might hereafter carry on with the West-India Islands, and if there was a superiority to be given any where, surely gentlemen could not hesitate giving it to the manufactures of their own country.

The high price that provisions at present bear, and were likely to continue to bear, should be an additional reason with the House not to adopt the measure [Here he stated the price of different grain for some time past] for that by preventing, in this manner, the consumption of rum, a greater quantity of barley and oats would be used in the distilleries, which, in the present high price of provisions, might be attended with inconveniencies to the lower order of the people, which the House of Commons were in duty bound, as far as in them lay, to avert. As he happened to throw out this idea, he would carry it farther, though not altogether connected with the subject before them, and recommended it particularly to the North country members, (where generally every three years, a real or artificial famine exists) to establish public granaries in the principal towns, buying in corn when cheap, and selling it out at reasonable prices, in times of scarcity. He would recommend it to parliament to grant bounties on the carriage of corn to those granaries. He concluded with moving, that the word "sixpence," be struck out of the resolution.

Mr. Longfield said, that his Right Hon. Colleague had stated this matter so ably, and in so satisfactory a manner to the House, that nothing remained for him to say on the occasion: he would, therefore, content himself with seconding the motion.

Mr. G. *Montgomery* said, he would oppose any new duty on whiskey.

Right Hon. *John Beresford* said—If there arose any question, whether the House ought to give a preference to pasturage or agriculture, he would not hesitate to give it to the latter. Tillage was much more advantageous to any country than pasturage. It conduced more to encreasing the number of the people. If, therefore, it was true, that in the number of inhabitants consisted the strength of nations, the House should adopt any measure that would promote that end. Laying on the additional 6*d.* would advance the breweries and distilleries. It had been said, that corn was at so high a price, that every measure tending to lessen it, should be adopted. If corn was now high, it was no proof it should continue to; and if the House were to consider the different interests of different descriptions of men, surely the interests of the farmers did not least merit their attention. The Right Honourable Gentleman who made the amendment with so much ability, had mentioned, that the additional sixpence would ruin the rum trade of this kingdom. In England the duty was 8*s.* per gallon, and yet the trade was not destroyed. In the article of sugar, the English, owing to the contingent advantages their long connexion with the island gave them, had an advantage, but in respect to rum the advantage lay evidently on the side of the Irish.

The *Provost*, in reply, said, that the merchants of Cork were too respectable a body of men to trouble the House with any application they knew to be hurtful to the kingdom, on account of any petty interest that might accrue to them; but applications, made by particular bodies of men, were so often found to point out advantage to the public at large, that parliament had found it wise to accede to them.—Any man might perceive the present to be one of them.

Mr. *Cusse* and Sir *Francis Hutchinson* spoke in favour of the amendment.

The question being put on the *Provost's* amendment, there appeared

For it	—	23
Against it	—	51

Ordered, the bill of supply to be engrossed and read this day.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1783.

Ordered, That all members returned for two or more places shall make their election, and be ready to answer the call of this House on the 1st of December next.

The petition of certain merchants, stiling themselves the Council of the Chamber of Commerce, praying to be put on the same footing with Great Britain, relative to the construction of the navigation acts, was this day presented by Mr. *Hartley*, and ordered to lie on the table.

Right Hon. *John Foster*—As I think the existence of Ireland, as a commercial country, depends upon the proper construction of the act of navigation, and the other acts made explanatory thereof, and for giving it force in Ireland, this petition merits our utmost regards; and as the Honourable Gentleman who presented it, seemed to have some doubt that the bill now before the committee of ways and means, might in some degree tend to exclude Ireland from the benefit of those acts, though I am not of the same opinion myself, yet I am ready to add to that bill a proviso [which he read] declaring that nothing therein contained shall be construed to deprive this country of the benefit of the act of navigation, or the acts made explanatory thereof.

Sir *John Blaquiere* moved that the proper officer do lay before the House, an account of the quantity of woollen yarn exported the last ten years.

An engrossed money-bill was presented to the House.

Ordered, That the same be presented to the House of Lords by two of the members of this House, for their Lordships concurrence.

Mr. *Grattan*—I move to take into consideration, on Friday next, all practical retrenchments in the collecting of the revenue. From what happened in this House on Saturday last, particularly respecting the addition of 4000*l.* per annum to the salary of the Chief Governor (a measure which, had I been present, I would have most strenuously opposed) I am induced to move for an immediate enquiry into practical retrenchments.—Ordered.

Sir *Annesley Stewart* observed, that as another very respectable assembly was now sitting, at which several members of this House were to attend, he wished the Honourable Gentleman who had given notice that he would, on this night, move for an absentee-tax, would be so kind as to postpone it for a few days.

Mr. *Molyneux* rose, and apologized for not being able to enter into the business of which he had given notice, (a tax on absentees) and which was ordered for discussion this day; he said, that the close attention which he was bound to give in another most respectable assembly (the Grand National Convention) had not left him opportunity sufficient to prepare himself properly on that important subject; and he again begged leave to defer it to Monday next.

After this apology, Mr. *Molyneux* sat down, but rose almost immediately, and desired to know if an honourable and learned member, who had undertaken to explain the conduct of government, with regard to the provincial regiments, and who, he doubted not, would do it very much to their honour, was ready to proceed upon that subject.

Mr. *George Ponsonby*—If the Hon. Gentleman had kept his promise to the House, it would be easier for me to keep mine; this is the second or third time he has deferred the absentee question. I came to the House this night expecting to hear him on that subject; he disappoints me, and desires me to proceed with one not fixed for this night; he cannot sure imagine I go always with the papers in my pocket, which are necessary to the point I have in view; but this I promise the Honourable Gentleman, that I will be ready to enter upon the subject I have undertaken on the day next following to that on which his shall be disposed of.

Report was made by the Right Hon. *John Foster*, that the committee had gone through the bill for granting to his Majesty several duties on goods therein mentioned, without any amendment.

Mr. *Foster*—I move that a clause be annexed to the said bill. “Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act shall not extend to allow the import of such wares and merchandizes from any place contrary to the true intent and meaning of the act, called the Act of Navigation passed in the reign of Charles II. and by an act passed in the fourteenth and fifteenth of George II. and by an act passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth of his present Majesty for the extending of certain provisions.”

Mr. *Hartley*—The intention of this petition is to examine into the construction of the act of navigation.

Mr. *Foster*—I wish to introduce a clause to obviate all doubts, relative to this country, as a commercial country; if any doubts remain, I do not wish to have it introduced at all.

Mr. *Hartley*—I know that the petition is presented with the best intentions.

Mr. *Foster* said, that the act of navigation was an Irish law. If gentlemen wished for a separate act (though, in his opinion, not necessary) he should withdraw the proposed clause, and move that the bill should be engrossed.

The House in a committee of ways and means, Right Hon. John Foster in the chair.

Mr. *Hartley* moved that a tax of 1s. should be paid on every entry, except post entries, imported into the port of Dublin, to pay off the debt incurred by the trustees for building the Royal

Exchange, and for the purpose of keeping the Exchange in repair.—Agreed *nem. con.*

Mr. *Hartley* then proposed a tax of 5s. per pound on all rabbits fur, and 3d. per skin on all rabbits skins exported: This he did as a protecting duty, in order to keep at home the raw material of every considerable manufacture.

Mr. *Mason* proposed 1s. per pound as an amendment, 5s. he thought, would be a prohibition, instead of a protection.

Sir *John Blaquiere* supported the principle of guarding our own manufactures by protecting duties; his idea was not to prohibit the exportation of the raw material, but to let it go so taxed, that the produce of the manufacture should return to us loaded with an expence, which would render it dearer to the consumer, than the produce of the same manufacture at home.

Mr. *Denis Daly* said—Before we prohibit the exportation of any raw material, it is necessary for us to know that we have any chance of consuming it in our manufactures at home; there are many raw materials, especially in that part of the country which I have the honour to represent, of which to prohibit the exportation, would be most ruinous and destructive.

Mr. *Hartley* urged the manifold advantages which England derived from the laws, by which she prohibited the exportation of wool, and said, that so conscious was that wise country of those advantages, that all the wool-growers in England, with a noble duke at their head, had not been able to shake her inflexible resolution of maintaining them. He hoped Ireland would profit by her example.

It was ultimately agreed, to refer this petition to Mr. Gardiner's committee for protecting the trade of Ireland.

Sir *Henry Hartstonge* said, his letters received this day from Limerick acquainted him, that the city and its custom-house still remained in the same defenceless state it had been in for some time past, for want of a garrison, there not being a single soldier there; and called upon the Right Hon. Gentleman in the confidence of Government, to declare why a military force had not been quartered in that city for some time past.

Mr. *Pelham*, in answer, said, that in pursuance to an application from the Hon. Baronet, orders had been sent for the march of troops to do garrison duty in Limerick.

Sir *Henry Hartstonge* rejoined, by an observation on the slowness of their march, it being the 23d of October he made an application to the Right Hon. Gentleman.

Mr. *Chatterton* moved, that a bill to prevent frivolous and vexatious arrests should be printed. He observed, that the session before last an act under a similar title had passed; that it had injured all credit among the lower class of the people, particularly at Cork, the inhabitants of which had petitioned against it, and it had been since repealed.—Ordered accordingly.

The House being informed that Mr. Wetheral, assistant examiner of customs, attended at the door, he was called in, and at the bar presented to the House, pursuant to their order, an account of the quantities and value of new drapery imported into Ireland from England and Scotland for eighty-five years and a quarter, commencing the 25th day of December, 1697, and ending the 25th day of March, 1783, each year distinguished.—Also, an account of the quantities and value of old drapery imported into Ireland from England and Scotland for eighty-five years and a quarter, commencing the 25th day of December, 1697, and ending the 25th day of March, 1783, each year distinguished.

The titles whereof were read, and the accounts ordered to lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1783.

The House resolved itself into a committee of trade, Sir Henry Cavendish in the chair.

When Mr. Haughton was examined relative to the manufacture of new drapery.

Sir *Henry Cavendish*, chairman of the committee of trade, reported some progress, and asked leave to sit again.—Agreed to.

The House resolved itself into a committee, the Right Hon^{ble} John Bourke in the chair.

Read a bill to enable the Hon. Mr. Leeson to sell part of his estate, to discharge incumbrances, and for other purposes.

Mr. *Foster* presented an engrossed bill for regulating the sugar trade, and granting several duties therein mentioned.—Ordered to the Lords.

Report from the committee to enquire into the petition respecting the inland navigation.—Received and ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. *Bennet* moved, that the petition complaining of an undue election and return for the county of Galway, be withdrawn.—Withdrawn accordingly.

Mr. *Holmes* moved, that further time be granted for persons to qualify.—Granted.

Mr. *Daly*—Having been elected and returned for the county of Galway, and a petition being presented, which is now withdrawn, I make my election for the said county.

Sir *John Parnell* reported from the committee appointed to take into consideration the state of the navigation board.

Mr. *Browne* (of Trinity College) moved, that the names of all persons who are returned for two places; be called over on the 3d day of December next, and that they be then obliged to make their election. An amendment was proposed, that the words "twenty days after," be inserted.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* moved, that the standing order of the House, in such cases, be now read.—Order read.

Mr. *Attorney General* and Mr. *Scott* observed, that there were a great many petitions, complaining of undue returns, that could not be disposed of till after the third of December, and some of them would not come on till February: This motion, if carried, would inconvenience many gentlemen.

The question was put on the amendment, and carried in the affirmative.

The motion was then put, and negatived.

Mr. *Smith* (member for Limerick) observed, that when there was a demand for troops elsewhere, the volunteers of Limerick had cheerfully undertaken to do the garrison duty; that they had continued it for these three months; that they were mostly merchants, traders and manufacturers; that they were at very great expence, and though their hearts did not feel it, their pockets did; and when the cold weather had set in, the barrack board was wrote to for firing, and an answer was received from a Mr. *Thwaites*, informing, that no firing could be given to the volunteers, without a particular order from government: In this business he did not in the least charge the Right Hon. Secretary with any inattention, but he thought that men who had done so much, voluntarily, should not have been so dealt with; and that some of the regulars should have been sent there ere now.

Mr. *Cuffe* answered—That it was by no means in consequence of any disrespect to the volunteers that they were denied fires, but as government provided for none other than the standing army, it could not be allowed.

The order of the day being read, for the House entering into a committee on the petition of Robert Brooke, Esq; of Prosperous,

The House resolved itself accordingly, Thomas Burgh, Esq; (of Oldtown) in the chair.

Mr. *Arbuthnot*, supervisor of the linen-board, was examined, who, among other particulars, deposed, that he had been sent by the linen-board to Prosperous, in the county of Kildare, Mr. Brooke's manufactory, where he found buildings had been erected, since the 11th of October last, which had cost, by the builder's estimate, 2,833*l.* the principal of which was a house 300 feet in

length, 15 in breadth, and 3 stories high, capable of containing 300 looms, for the purpose of giving employment to weavers of Dublin out of work;—that a great number of that description were there employed or subsisted until they should get employment, at the rate of 9*d.* for the men, 6*d.* for the women, and 4*d.* for the boys and girls per day.—That at said manufactory of Prosperous there were actually 300 looms at work, &c.

Mr. *Foster* said—The witness is employed by the linen-board to go round the kingdom, and make his return on oath. After expatiating on the great merit of Captain Brooke, Mr. *Foster* mentioned that he had a resolution to propose to the committee, which he hoped would meet with their approbation: He must observe to gentlemen, that this could not be called a grant of public money, it was only a loan; there was no tax to be laid on for it.—He then moved, “That the sum of 25,000*l.* be advanced to Robert Brooke, Esq; in Exchequer bills, payable the 25th of March, 1784, he paying interest for the same, and giving proper security for said sum of 25,000*l.* and for employing 2000 persons in the manufactory at Prosperous, from the 25th of March, 1784, to the 25th of March, 1794.”

Mr. *Pelham* declared, that Captain Brooke was called upon by government, when various petitions were presented at the castle, stating the wretched situation of the weavers: Captain Brooke informed government, that, with their assistance, he would give employment to several of them; and on consulting with some of the magistrates, it was agreed to send down to Prosperous such unemployed weavers, properly certified, as were unable to get employment. Mr. *Pelham* spoke much of the utility of the measure, and said, he would give his hearty concurrence to the resolution.

Mr. *Griffith* said, that from his local knowledge of the town of Prosperous, and reading the allegations of Captain Brooke's petition, he was competent to declare, that they were not only true, but rather moderate; he said, about six or seven days ago, he went to Prosperous, examined the houses, looms, &c. and saw competence and industry in the countenance of the people; he particularly examined how those people, sent lately from Dublin, for want of employ, were disposed of: He saw some at work, others preparing work for the loom; an universal satisfaction prevailed with those, who, a few days before, were assigned to dejection and misery: he hoped that though he gave this resolution his warm support, he would not be charged with inconsistency, as no man had a greater regard for public œconomy than what he had; but encouragement to your manufactures will be a great means of equalizing your revenue. He said, he knew the petitioner himself; he knew him in Asia and in Europe; and a man of greater worth did not exist: he hoped the committee

would not think that his private predilection should influence his voting on this occasion.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* observed, that the witnesses had said that Captain Brooke had got 3000*l.* from the viceroy; it was not right that government should give money without consent of parliament, and come now to parliament to sanctify it. This is not the only grant given in that manner, the king's letter having that effect in a grant of 1000*l.*

Mr. *Foster* said, he knew the Right Hon. Baronet's skill in short hand, but that construction was by no means warranted. In Lord Temple's administration a number of cotton manufacturers were going to America; Captain Brooke was applied to; he found out where these men were, brought them down to Prosperous, and Lord Temple gave him 1000*l.* which was sufficient for the expences he had been at. He said, that if money granted by a Viceroy be well applied, the Viceroy gives it at his own risque.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* asked what security could Captain Brooke give, either for the money or keeping 2000 people employed for ten years?

Mr. *Foster* said, a bill would be brought in for this business, and care should be taken for the security, and keeping the persons employed; and he assured the committee, that without proper security no money should be granted.

The *Provost* said, from the information he had, great exertions had been used by Captain Brooke to make his manufacture a national object: As to the security that the Hon. Baronet speaks of, the House of Commons is not competent to take security; but the bill may direct security to be given before one of the barons of the exchequer: He said there were two circumstances that should induce him to agree with this resolution; and the one was, that in Lord Temple's time, Captain Brooke prevented the emigration of a number of manufacturers to a rival country; and the other was, that he acceded to the humane purposes of government, when our poor manufacturers were starving in our streets, by engaging a great number of them at his own risque.— It was mentioned, that it was not right for a Viceroy to grant the public money without the consent of parliament, but a Viceroy, now dead, had got the thanks of parliament for granting money for corn in times of great distress.

Sir *John Blaquiere* did not think the intended mode of raising money for Captain Brooke, was at all favourable to him; he could not get the bills payable in 10 years, discounted at less than 12 per cent.

The resolution being put, the committee divided, when there were,

For agreeing to Mr. Foster's resolution,	59
Against it,	4

Houfe resumed—Mr. *Burgh* reported : Ordered, that the report be received to-morrow morning.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1783.

The Houfe in a committee of trade, Sir Henry Cavendish in the chair.

Examined Mr. Batty, a hat-maker, relative to the state of that trade in this kingdom, and the means to improve and extend the same.—Houfe resumed.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* reported to the Houfe, that the committee of trade had made some progress, and asked leave to sit again.—Leave granted.

Thomas Burgh (of Athy,) Esq; complained of the breach of privilege in the person of a friend of his (a member of that Houfe) who had been arrested as he was mounting his horse, by virtue of a writ issued out by a John Blacktin, an attorney.

Ordered, that the said John Blacktin do attend at the bar of this Houfe to-morrow.

A bill for indemnifying certain persons therein mentioned, who had advised the proclamation of the 13th of August, 1782, laying on an embargo on the exportation of corn, and the order of council thereupon, read the first time, ordered for a second reading to-morrow.

Bill for the encouragement of the hemp and sail-cloth manufactory, read the first time, and ordered for a second reading to-morrow.

Bill for enabling James Singleton, Esq; to dispose of part of his estate.—Read.

Mr. *Foster* reported from the committee of ways and means, the proposed duty of one shilling per entry inwards, for the purpose of constituting a fund for the payment of a debt contracted by the trustees of the royal exchange, and for the maintenance of that edifice.

He also reported from the committee appointed to take the petition of Robert Brooke into consideration, their resolution of lending him 25,000*l*.—Both ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. *Foster* then presented, pursuant to order, a bill for the advancement of the trade between this kingdom and the United States of America. He observed, that this bill was limited in its operation, being only to remain in force for three months, as, by that time, some more permanent regulation than the present bill, which was only a transcript of one passed in England,

would take place, by a commercial treaty or otherwise. This bill enacts, that vessels from America may be admitted to make their declarations or invoices in any port in Ireland, though they shall not produce an American cocket or clearance; as also, that American vessels may bring cargoes of their produce into Ireland, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mr. *Huffey* reported from the select committee for the trial of the Baltinglass election,

“That Warden Flood, Esq; and the Hon. John Stratford, are duly returned to represent the borough of Baltinglass.”

The Hon. *John Stratford* said, that he was returned member for the county of Wicklow, and also for the borough of Baltinglass; he would make his election for the county of Wicklow.

Right Hon. the *Speaker* ordered, that a new writ be issued for the borough of Baltinglass.

Mr. *O'Hara*.—There were lately granted 12,000 men for the peace establishment of Ireland, but if there can be any reduction made in the expence of that establishment, it would be highly improper to decline doing it. The situation of this kingdom is not as it has been; formerly Great Britain protected Ireland from different motives than what she does at present. England considered Ireland as her property, as her farm, and our countrymen as slaves of a plantation; but we are now to be protected from different motives, a sudden change has taken place in this kingdom. During the last session this nation obtained all she could desire, and much more than we could have expected; we have acquired new trade and new consequence. We seem to be an island risen from the sea; the doors of our prison are open to us, and our better angel points to scenes of wealth. He wished that a strong connection should subsist between the two countries, and that we should remove every cause of suspicion; he was on that ground in favour of the peace establishment; but in his opinion many articles of expence might be diminished. He therefore moved, “That a committee be appointed to take into consideration “the military establishment of this kingdom, and to report to the House what retrenchments may be made therein.”

Mr. *Mason* moved the following amendment, that, “may with propriety be made therein.”

Mr. Secretary *Pelham* seconded the motion.

Mr. *Mason* moved an amendment after the word “made,” “or ought to be made with propriety;” which amendment was agreed to.

Mr. *Pelham* said, there were now more men in the regiments by ten men per company, than there were last peace establishment.

Sir Henry Cavendish.—I do not rise to oppose the motion, but without any pretensions to prophesying, I can see that the chairman of that committee will report that no reduction at all can be made of the military establishment, and I think it would be better for the first mover to point out the particulars of the reduction.

Mr. O'Hara said, the enquiry would go to the whole, and the particular parts would be pointed out of course, and he could not see any reason why the Hon. Baronet should be prophetic as to this report.

Sir Edward Newenham said, this motion comes in a very questionable shape: it originates with a member who voted for an augmentation of the army, and it is seconded by the Viceroy's Secretary, and supported by a commissioner of the revenue; I like it not—it may be so shifted as to injure this kingdom, and cannot ease the establishment; the report of such a committee (composed of ministerial advocates) cannot prove of national advantage; I shall give it a negative.

The question was put and carried without a division.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1783.

On a complaint being made, it was ordered that John M'Evoy, an officer of mace, do attend at the bar of the House on Monday next.

An engrossed bill from the Lords was received.

Captain Moore, of the battle-axe-guards, was sworn, and took his seat.

Read, for the first time, the bill for facilitating the trade with America.

Mr. O'Hara moved, that the order for appointing a committee to take into consideration what reduction may be made with propriety, in the military establishment, be discharged.—Discharged accordingly.

He then moved, that a committee be appointed to take into consideration the military establishment, and report what reduction may be made therein.

Mr. Flood was of opinion, that a committee would by no means answer the purposes of the Honourable Member: He did not entertain a doubt of the purity of his intentions, but a committee was a round-about way. He was for some simple and adequate manner of reform. A discontinuation of the augmentation of the army would be the great means of retrenchment.

Whilst you maintain 15,000 men, as your peace establishment, you will never restore the finances of this beggared country. We have seen and heard of nothing but expence. In the administration of the Duke of Portland, it was proposed to make out a new employment—a Solicitor General to the Queen. For these 10, 12, or 15 years past, we have been wantonly increasing the public expence. I would recommend it to the Hon. Member, before he embarks (for when he establishes his committee, the very men who come into that committee, may vote him out of the chair) to propose the business early and in the face of the country; and I wish he would bring on some specific propositions, which would prove who were the real friends of economy, and those who were only the professors of it.

Mr. O'Hara declared, he thought that information on that head could be best had through the medium of a committee. He had examined the public accounts, and found that the military expences in one session had considerably exceeded the expences charged in another session. He assured the Hon. Member that it was not an imaginary but a real remedy that he looked for, and even from slight enquiries he learned, that some reduction of expence may be made. It had been said, that above one hundred thousand a year might be saved by a reduction of the army: From the best information he was able to procure, the expence of 3000 men amounted to 52,000*l.* a year: The Hon. Gentleman has expressed a wish, that I would make some specific proposition, but not having sufficient knowledge what to ground such proposition on, I am not competent to do so: that knowledge may be acquired, when we go into the committee.

Mr. Yelverton, (Attorney General) Much has been said by the Right Honourable Gentleman of extravagance, and the changes have been rung upon the schemes of appointing an Attorney and a Solicitor General to the Queen; but the noble duke never did accede to that proposal, and even if it had been carried into effect, it would not have been an article of expence to the nation; those officers were not to have had salaries, and consequently the Honourable Gentleman has no right to call it by the name of extravagance. The charge of extravagance on account of the provincial regiments is equally unfounded; and the insinuation, that part of the money granted for the 20,000 seamen had been applied to their use, is untrue. When that insinuation was first made, I did believe it a mistake; and in examining the report of the committee of accounts, I am warranted to declare that it is one; but it may be said that the provincial regiments were unnecessary—I deny that they were unnecessary, for when they were raised, there were not soldiers in the kingdom to do the mere holiday duty, much less to defend it from an enemy; and

as these regiments were raised from the necessity of the times, so were they also established with an œconomy suitable to the times, and to the circumstances of the nation, for their officers had neither rank or half pay. Had regiments been raised in the regular and ordinary manner, your establishment would at this hour be burthened with the half pay of their officers; therefore I hope we have done with those groundless complaints, and that we shall never more hear these charges of extravagance and profusion repeated.

Mr. Flood.—I should be extremely sorry that all the Right Honourable Gentleman's hopes should prove as fallacious as the last, for I assure him that he will again hear those charges of profusion and extravagance repeated: The expence of establishing the two officers that have been mentioned, was not perhaps the worst consequence—the worst consequence was the improper influence that would thereby be added to the crown; but I did not say that the project originated with the noble duke himself, though I can see very little difference between a declaration made by a viceroy and his attorney general. Will the Right Honourable Gentleman pretend to say, while he and his friends are cramming down offices and employments, that it can be done without the consent of the Lord Lieutenant? he must give us more credulity than falls to the share of mankind, before we can believe such assertions.

The Right Honourable Gentleman says, the fencible regiments were a good measure, because worse might be devised; on this ground he may defend any measure, provided he can find out a worse; but if troops were necessary, why were they taken away? it was the duty of government to restrain the ardour of the people—"Tis insinuated that I said some of the money voted for raising seamen, had been applied to the raising of fencible regiments—I did not say so, I know it could not have been so applied without the knowledge of the noble duke, but I have good reason to believe that men were enlisted for the navy, and were afterwards turned over to fencible regiments, and that they were suffered to retain their bounty money, which comes just to the same thing as if the money had been given to the fencible men in the first instance.

The report of the committee of accounts, in my opinion, does not clear up this matter; but it is the old practice, where a question cannot be met with argument, it is endeavoured to be rendered as inaccessible as possible, by guarding it with difficulties, and enveloping it in a cloud. But I bring before you the report of 1768, a report that will not be transcended by any thing that you will now produce; it had the aid of all the ancient officers of the crown, and of all the able men of that day; it is impossible to expect any thing more full or satisfactory upon

the subject. Let it not therefore be supposed, that I avoid a committee, when I point out through the report of a committee a saving of 150,000*l.* on 12,000 men, and could make a much greater saving on the reduction that might be made on 15,000 men. This saving I point out on the estimates made by ministers, and does any man think ministers such idiots as to estimate the highest? No, they estimate every thing upon the smallest scale, and then apply to parliament for the deficiency. If then upon their scale so great a saving might be made, what might be made in reality?

Mr. O'Hara's motion for discharging the order for a committee was agreed to; and as he did not make any other motion on the subject, that business fell to the ground.

Sir Edward Newenham acquainted the House, that pursuant to a notice he had given some time since, he would have brought on the business of a parliamentary reform, but that an Honourable Friend of his, who had promised his assistance, would now bring it forward instead of him, in whose able hands he had put it.

Mr. Flood—Sir, though the subject upon which I propose troubling the House is of the first importance, yet I shall not anticipate the future discussion of it. An Honourable Gentleman, (Sir Edward Newenham) who some days since gave notice of his intention to move for a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament, now wishes to leave that business in other hands; if he will do me the honour to abet the undertaking, and form one of the committee for preparing the bill, I will make that motion, not entering into the necessity or merits of it till it comes under discussion, but merely making the motion of course, and reserving my right to speak upon it if a debate should arise.

I therefore, Sir, most humbly move you for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament.

Attorney General—I do not rise, any more than the Honourable Gentleman, to discuss the merits of his bill, at least till the ground on which it is taken up shall be mentioned, though on the face of it it imports a very great innovation of the constitution; and if I have any judgment, it appears to proceed from a radical mistake. I have always been of opinion, that according to the original frame of our constitution, the people in virtue of their persons never were represented; and was I now allowed to go into that question, I think I could prove it to the satisfaction of the House; but the motion is a surprise upon the House: The Honourable Member said he would not move it for ten days, and now he transfers it to another Honourable Member, in order to take us unprepared.

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Sir *Edward Newenham*—I said I would not propose to enter into a committee on the bill for eight or ten days.

Attorney General—I understood that we were to have ten days previous notice before this bill was brought forward, but it is not worth enquiring into. I do not mean to go into the discussion of the bill, but I would wish the Honourable Member would now state the necessity there is for bringing it in at all, and also who those persons are who are discontented with the present constitution, and with whom it originates, for I will say if it originates with an armed body, 'tis inconsistent with the freedom of debate for this House to receive it. We sit not here to register the edicts of another assembly, or to receive propositions at the point of the bayonet: I admire the volunteers, so long as they confine themselves to their first line of conduct; it was their glory to preserve the domestic peace of their country, and to render it formidable to foreign enemies—it was their glory to aid the civil magistrate, and to support their parliament; but when they turn aside from this honourable conduct, when they form themselves into a debating society, and with that rude instrument the bayonet, probe and explore a constitution which requires the nicest hand to touch, I own my respect and veneration for them is destroyed—If it be avowed that this bill originated with them I will reject it at once, because I consider that it decides the question, whether this House or the convention are the representatives of the people, and whether parliament or the volunteers are to be obeyed—I consider it as a question involving the existence of the constitution; and it is in vain, whatever may be avowed or pretended, to shut our ears and eyes to what every one has heard and seen—armed men walking bareheaded through the streets under a military escort, courting the smiles and applauses of the multitude, and meeting in the Pantheon of divinities, the Rotunda—for we are told 'tis blasphemy to utter a word against them;—forming committees and sub-committees, receiving reports and petitions, and going through all the mockery of Parliament—'tis in vain then to pretend that this bill is not their mandate; and can any man who has the least regard for that constitution which our ancestors purchased with their blood, bear to see government forced from its centre by these reformers? I think the time is now arrived, things are come to such a crisis, that even our self-preservation, as a parliament, depends on the vote we shall now give—this is the spot to make our stand, here we must draw our line—for we have retired step by step as they have advanced, we are now on a precipice, and to recede one step more, plunges us into inevitable ruin.

Sir, I lament, for the honour of my countrymen, that they should have chosen this period for introducing innovation or exciting discontent—What is the occasion that calls forth their dis-

pleasure against the constitution, and what is our present situation? Blessed with a free trade and a free constitution, our peers restored to their rights and to their lawful authority, our judges rendered independent, the manacles fallen from our commons, all foreign controul abolished, we take our rank among the nations as a free state; and is this a time to alter that constitution which has endured so many storms, and risen superior to all oppressions? Will the armed associations, wise as they may be, be able to form a better, though they reject this? Before they have for a single session entered into the enjoyment of it, like children, they throw away the bauble, for which, with all the eagerness of an infantine caprice, they have struggled; or like spendthrifts, they would make away with their inheritance before they enter into possession of it. But I will say to the volunteers, you shall not throw from you the blessings you may possess under your happy constitution, cultivate your own prosperity and enjoy the fruits of your virtue, beat your swords into ploughshares, return to your different occupations, leave the business of legislation in those hands where the laws have placed it, and where you have had ample proof it will be used for the advantage of your country. But, Sir, it is in vain, on the part of the convention, to disclaim their intent of overawing the parliament; nay I am told their session is not yet prorogued, and perhaps they may meet on Monday to reverse the opinion which this House may give this night.

Sir, I call upon the House to exert their spirit, and vindicate their rights; I shall call upon them in the words of a great man—"Expergiscimini aliquando, et capeßite Rem."

I appeal to the candour of gentlemen, are they sure they come into parliament to deliver their sentiments as freely as they would do if they were not members of the convention? or will gentlemen who are not vote as free? Is it decent while the convention are watching to controul our actions, to enter into any subject that they can propose? I have the highest respect for the volunteers as men, and for their former actions; but if the question appears to the House as it does to me, the result of any resolution formed at that meeting, it is our duty to reject it with indignation.

Sir *Thomas Osborne*—To me it appears that these reformers have acted with much precipitancy and little judgment; they should have considered that the reformation even of an individual requires time, and not run so hastily into a business of this importance, and which does not belong to them; it ought to be taken up by the counties and by the cities, they are sufficiently numerous to overawe the boroughs, and considering the difference of weight, no minister would be mad enough to depend on the boroughs alone; if he should lead his troops into that situa-

tion, he would find them like Falstaff's, well peppered. I am not one of those who profess myself contented with the lazy reason, that there is no necessity for a reform, because things go on well enough as they are, and this at the end of a war, originating in corruption, but I think reformation ought to originate where I have said, and it ought to be a simple proposition, standing on its own bottom; the ear of the public is ever deaf to complicated matter; had this reformation been confined to shortening the duration of parliament, it would have been understood by thousands that are bewildered in its perplexities; and I own that if that part of the reformation had been proposed, it should have had my support.

Mr. Flood—Sir, I have not mentioned the bill as being the bill of any set of men, or body of men whatsoever. I am as free to enter into the discussion of this bill as any gentleman in this House, and with as little prepossession in favour of what I shall propose. I prefer it to the House as the bill of my Right Hon. Friend, who seconds me.—Will you receive it from us?

[Here Mr. Flood sat down; but after a short pause he arose again.]

Mr. Flood—In the last parliament it was ordered, that leave be given to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament; this was in the Duke of Portland's administration; an administration which the Right Hon. Gentleman professes to admire; and which he will not suspect of overturning the constitution. I own from the turn which has been given to the question, I enter on it with the deepest anxiety; armed with the authority of this precedent, I did not think any one would be so desperate as to give such a violent opposition to the simple introduction of a bill. I now rise, Sir, for the first time to speak upon the subject, and I call upon every man, auditor or spectator, in the house or in the galleries, to remember this truth—that if the volunteers are introduced into this debate, it is not I who have done it.

The Right Honourable Gentleman says, if the volunteers have approved it, he will oppose it—but, I say, I bring it in as a member of this House; supported with the powerful aid of the Right Hon. Gentleman who sits behind me, (Mr. Brownlow) we bring it in as members of parliament, never mentioning the volunteers. I ask you, will you receive it from us, from us your members, neither intending by any thing within doors, or without, to intimidate or overawe you? I ask, will you receive it as our bill, or will you conjure up a military phantom of interposition to affright yourselves?—I have not introduced the volunteers, but if the volunteers are aspersed, I will defend their conduct against all the world. By whom were the commerce and

the constitution of this country recovered? By the volunteers. Why did not the Right Honourable Gentleman make a declamation against them when they lined our streets, when parliament passed through ranks of those virtuous armed citizens, to demand the rights of an insulted nation? Are they different men at this day, or is the Right Honourable Gentleman different? He was then one of their body—he is now their accuser? He who saw the streets lined, who rejoiced, who partook in their glory, is now their accuser. What has changed them since that time? Are they less wise, less brave, less ardent in their country's cause; or has their admirable conduct made him their enemy? May they not say, we have not changed, but you have changed? He cannot now bear to hear of volunteers—but I will ask him, and I will have a *sterling taught to hollow it in his ear*, who got you the free trade? Who got you the free constitution? Who made you a nation? The volunteers. If they were the men you now describe them, why did you accept of their service? Why did you not then accuse them? If they were so dangerous, why did you pass through their ranks, with your Speaker at your head, to demand a constitution? Why did you not then fear the ills you now apprehend? Have your Lord Lieutenants refused the service of those men? Look back to their offers in Lord Carlisle's administration.—Have not such of them, as could obtain that honour, been proud to be escorted by them to the sea? And have not parliament returned repeated thanks to this body of men, who are now so degenerated, that rectitude becomes depravity in them? Were not resolutions sought from them to give a sanction to the inadequate security of simple repeal? When betrayed into wrong, they were cherished—but now when right, opposed.

What do some of the greatest men in England say, speaking of the volunteers, “That the history of mankind, the annals of the world do not furnish such another glorious example of patriotism and moderation;” and now will any man condemn them, if they wish to crown themselves with never-fading glory, and finish their labours by rendering perfect the constitution that their virtues have acquired? Should you comply, it would for ever render unnecessary the interference of such bodies of men as they are. I am conscious that I have not done justice to that much honoured, and much injured body of men; but be it remembered, that it was not I who introduced their name: it was not I who wished to inflame your passions when I had not argument to support me: it was not I who wished to debauch them to the side of fear—such a proceeding shews the rottenness of the cause. If the volunteers and parliament shall ever be committed, which God almighty forbid, no great thanks will be due to those men who represent the volunteers as endeavouring to dragoon parliament—men who

endeavour to exasperate them, and if their moderation was not greater than the wisdom of their accusers, great and miserable would be the confusion indeed; but they have too much wisdom not to despise their accusers, though I will tell the man who accuses them, that there was a time when he was proud to join in their ranks, and share the glory of their conduct.

I am called on for an explanation of my plan of reform, in order that exceptions may be taken to it; but I am ready to explain it, and to refute all exceptions on the ground of reason and argument.—As in this house votes go by tale, and not by weight, and as the vote of the meanest wretch that ever disgraced the walls of parliament, though representing the most venal borough, tells for as much as the most illustrious character, representing the first county in the kingdom, the people wish to correct the ill effects of this by opening the boroughs, and giving them an opportunity of being virtuous. This is the voice of the people, and it is opposed because it is said to be the demand of the volunteers; but the volunteers and the people are the same; they have been made constitutional by every act, but that of being placed on your establishment, which they despise. Does any man say, that there is not a positive act of parliament, directing every protestant to bear arms? And will you say, that because one man fulfils more of his duty, as a citizen, than another, that he should less enjoy a citizen's privilege? Or will any man say, that because the volunteers, in obedience to the laws, bear arms, that that obedience should strip them of their franchise?

But who will deny that the representation of cities and boroughs demands reform? And are plans of reform to be rejected, because agreeable to the volunteers? If so, how came the Duke of Portland to send volunteer delegates to the throne with letters to deliver into the sacred hand of Majesty? And if the Duke of Portland acted thus, will any man say, that the volunteers have since done any thing to transform them into the gorgons and hydras they have been represented? No, they are not changed, they are seen through the medium of borough interest; it is this that has given them this terrible aspect, it is the sordid interest of a prostituted government to say they have strength, though it be the strength of borough-mongers; but it is the strength of a virtuous government to be supported by the public good opinion; and it is no credit to any government to depend rather on a venal parliament, than on the honest voice of an ingenuous nation. The bill sets at defiance all objection; for is there a man who will say, however political declamation may attempt to mislead, that the constitution wants no reform? Will any man say, that that constitution is perfect, when he knows that the honour of the peerage may be obtained by any ruffian who possesses borough interest?

Mr. *Flood* then proceeded to trace the general outline of the plan of reform agreed to at the Convention, and concluded with saying—I shall neither endeavour to intimidate nor overawe the House, but on the contrary I shall most humbly hope, that in the infancy of your liberty, and because it is no argument to tell you, that a body of men who are determined to treat with respect that constitution which they have recovered by fortitude, bear arms for their country's service: I hope, I say, you will not go to fish for objections until these people shall do something derogatory of that authority which they have established—no body of men can make me affirm to be right what I know to be wrong—neither will I be so absurd as to deny that which I know to be right, because other men think so too.

Mr. *Molyneux*—This is one of the most important questions ever agitated in this House, and I lament the ill treatment the motion has received from the other side, in the course of which such illiberal reflections have been thrown on the saviours of their country, for their interference to reform a vicious representation of the people. The question is, Whether Ireland is truly represented or not? The sentiments of all are that we are not truly represented, and this opinion has coincided with the volunteer army, who have proved themselves the saviours of their country. We have been told that no reform is necessary; but I deny it: Reform is necessary, I am an instance of that necessity of reform. Are not boroughs sold at market like an ass or an ox? Who are they that propose it? Some of the most respectable persons in this kingdom, with one of the greatest characters in this, or perhaps in any other kingdom, at their head; it is the voice of the people; it should not be slighted; I therefore give my hearty concurrence to the motion.

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* said, that it would be paying a great compliment to the requisition of the Honourable Member, notwithstanding any partiality he might entertain towards him, if he were to surrender every faculty of his understanding—to shut his eyes at what every man sees—to shut his ears against what every man hears—and this he must do, if he were persuaded to treat this as a simple proposition for leave to bring a bill into parliament.

The Hon. Member has stated his plan, and it is unnecessary to tell you it is literally the plan, shaped and fashioned in another assembly, and sent here through the means of two respectable members just to receive the form of law. Can any man, without making a surrendeer as far as in him lies, of the rights and existence of parliament, consent to the reception of it under those circumstances? We all know whence it cometh, and whither it goeth—we have read it in every newspaper, paragraph by paragraph, as it came out printed by authority; and we are now cal-

led upon to give up ourselves, and take it as the plan and proposition of two honourable members. I will never thus impose upon myself. I will never agree to the proposition, because I know where it originates. I will never agree to the plan, because I know, and think it would be subversive of the constitution. I have a great respect for the authority of the honourable member who made the motion ; but where is the authority that could justify a member of parliament in an attempt to demolish ancient charters that have taken root in the constitution, and are the growth of so many centuries ? Where is the authority that could justify us in extinguishing or transferring to others the rights and franchises of those who sent us here ? Where is the authority that could justify an attempt to alter the essential principles of a constitution, which has been the admiration and the envy of all nations and all ages, and which perhaps is the only one in the world that has preserved political liberty to this day ? And is there common sense in your attempts to alter it the very moment you have acquired it ? To reject it, before you have tried it ? I have considered this subject with all its consequences. I have studied the deliberations of societies in your own country. I have travelled over every page that has been written and transmitted to you from another country, by personages who were appointed arbiters of the constitutional destiny of Ireland ; and I conclude in the words of one of them, I mean a noble duke of great abilities, of great extent of thought, and great learning, on this subject, considering those plans of partial reform, (and one would think the present plan was particularly in his thought) who says, "It proceeds on the same principle as the abuse it pretends to rectify—it is still partial and unequal—there is no leading principle—all is at sea, without any compais to distinguish the safe from the dangerous course." (He recited the various plans and inconsistencies proposed by different persons, and said)—On what a precipice you stand ? How the faculties of the mind are lost in apprehension, when you look down from the eminence of your venerable constitution, on the perplexities, the difficulties, the dangers, that are presented to you by those sages of reform. When you see each casuist differing from his brother, and almost every one differing from himself, if the subject were not too serious, it would be laughable enough to see how those doctors differ ; they differ, because they do not know the disease—there is no disease—the constitution is restored. I must do them the justice to say, they differ from the generality of advertising doctors in this, they do not declare their medicines equally good for all constitutions, for scarcely one recommends them as suited to Ireland. It was lately your ambition to contend for, it is now your glory to have acquired, the British constitution. Now you have obtained it, consider it well before you change it. There are some things too

important for experiment, too sacred for change; and if there be one thing more sacred, more inimitable than all others, it is your form of government.——If the people of this country would enjoy contentment, when they have so much call for it—if they would accept the felicity that is before them—if they would repose under the constitution they have acquired, and cultivate the country they have defended by their arms, we should be the happiest people on the earth; or if they would condescend to rest on their arms, and take a review, with their own eyes, of the magnificent objects that employ their representatives, they would behold them with admiration; they would not interrupt their great deliberations; they would depart not only in peace, but in pride. They would see them arranging supplies, so as to insure annual meetings of your parliament:—framing a mutiny bill, to assert your constitution and govern the army:—forming an Irish post-office, alike favourable to revenue and liberty;—establishing an Irish admiralty-court, with final appeal, the last pledge of external legislation:—giving new authority to the laws, and new restrictions to prerogative, by an act of indemnity for a late embargo:—deliberating on a wide system of commerce between this country and America, with the great conception of making, if possible, Ireland the mart of communication between the old world and the new:—they would see them anxiously and honestly considering how best to relieve the distresses, and promote the manufactures of this country. I will now tell you what they would not see them employed about. They are not asserting the supreme and exclusive authority of your parliament:—they are not restoring to your lords their judicature, or to your nation its commerce:—they are not rescuing your parliament from the bondage of Sir Edward Poynings, or framing an Habeas Corpus Act, or a bill to make the judges independent:—they are not overturning religious prejudices by acts of toleration, or inviting the wealth of talents and the world by a naturalization act. No, these are done already—these are the immortal trophies of the last parliament.——Good God! is the mind of man never to be satisfied? If a recollection of what you have acquired—if a contemplation of what we enjoy—if the prospect of national improvement which lies before you—if these will not satisfy you, I can only say—Happiness is not the lot of man!—One consolation however he may insure to himself in every public or private calamity, that is the reflection that he had no share in producing it.

Mr. *Gardiner*—I shall offer a very few words, being at present very little able to speak upon any subject. I shall not enter into the merits of the bill itself, but confine the little I shall say to the general principles of reformation. I will not say that no possible plan of reform could be useful, but I say, that circum-

stanced as we are, at present, it would not be politic to give leave to bring in this bill, which proposes, in a very essential point, to change your constitution. In England, a bill of reform was brought forward by a man, who for his age, possesses the greatest abilities that perhaps ever fell to the share of any human being, yet when it was fairly discussed, it appeared not to be a popular measure at all, though the circumstances of Great Britain render a parliamentary reform a thing there infinitely more practicable than here.

If then in Great Britain this was deemed a dangerous and unpopular measure, how cautious should we be of adopting it—but who will say that it does not come before us in a very improper manner? Who will say that it does not originate with the volunteers—No man has more esteem, even veneration, for a great part of that body, so long as they shall persevere in their first conduct, but when they over-step the modesty of their situation, when they assume a legislative authority, I own my esteem and my respect for them subside—I never will sit here to be dictated to by any man or body of men—I should think myself in so doing guilty of the basest treachery to the constitution. It is said the volunteers alone produced the great measures at which all rejoice; but I will not give them the sole merit. Parliament coincided with the first proposition of the volunteers for the benefit of this country, the others followed almost of course: And now I hope parliament will be unanimous in repelling this first proposition to subvert the constitution.

Mr. Brownlow—Gentlemen would have been at a great loss for arguments to oppose this motion, if they had not conjured up aerial phantoms of armed men presenting it on the point of the bayonet, yet what is so very alarming here, has been practised in Great Britain, under the auspices of the present administration. The borough of Shoreham has been thrown open; but are gentlemen afraid of rectifying errors? This is a measure called for with the voice of moderation, there is no such mad idea, as that of intimidating parliament, but the voice of the people sooner or later will be heard; we have done our duty in this bill, we offer it to you as our own act, not as the act of other men—We hope gentlemen will not reject it in the first instance, but give it a fair hearing; but if it must be put to a question, we trust there is in this House a majority to support the wishes of the people.

The Hon. Wesley Pole—It is most certain that there are but few precedents of the House refusing leave to bring in a bill; but the unprecedented state of the kingdom calls for unprecedented measures; every man knows that this bill originated with the volunteers; and are the volunteers the whole of the people of

Ireland? I live in a country where perhaps there are five hundred volunteers; there was a meeting for an address on this business, eleven people met, and ten of them named me as their delegate; I refused to undertake the commission, because I did not admit the necessity of any alteration. For my part, I venerate the constitution which is now attempted to be subverted; and no man, how great soever his force or eloquence, can influence me to desert it; yet if this House should be so pusillanimous as to receive the bill, and for ever destroy the rights of parliament, I thank heaven I can go to a country where I can enjoy those rights; but first I will attempt to support them here, nor shall they be overturned by any body of men, while I have life or fortune to defend them.

Mr. *George Ponsonby*—It is so extremely natural to think favourably of this constitution under which we enjoy, in security, our lives, our liberties, our fortunes, and the honour of sitting in this House, that the Hon. Member need not be surprized at finding his innovations so generally opposed. A gentleman indeed pretends that we should receive this motion as originating in the House; I own it is made by a Member of the House, because no body else could make it; but does not every one know that the Hon. Gentleman is the mouth-piece of the convention, and that this is their voice? Every one knows what has been doing at the Rotunda these three weeks; if there was no intention to overawe us, why was it thought necessary to bring to the metropolis an assembly of armed men *bearding* parliament; but I will not be overawed, I will support with my life and with my fortune, that constitution under which I enjoy every blessing. If we were to enquire very curiously into the frame of our constitution, perhaps some trifling imperfections might be found; but are we on that account, to go round the world begging opinions? and because a gentleman in Yorkshire thinks our constitution defective, shall we therefore overturn the whole? Parliament are adequate to the reformation of national grievances; and they have proved it. The restraint of our trade was a grievance: the dependence of our judges was a grievance: the controul under which our constitution laboured was a grievance: the deprivation of the privilege of our peers was a grievance: Poyning's law was a grievance: but which of these grievances now exist? Has not parliament reformed them all? Some gentlemen are so very nervous as to imagine the constitution is sick—why? because it is sick; but their state is so hopeless, that no man can attempt a cure; for it is impossible to administer to the maladies of a perturbed spirit.

The object of the Hon. Gentleman is to make our government more popular, and in that point he admits the counties and the

cities are tolerable enough—Ungrateful counties, ungrateful cities—ye have not any of you called upon this friend of liberty to represent you, but suffer him to sit here for a venal borough.

No man enjoys in any higher degree the talent of close reasoning than the Hon. Gentleman who made the motion, and as the instance of Shoreham has been given, I will submit to him, whether that instance, and its consequences, if authorities are to have any weight, do not decide in favour of letting our constitution stand as it is. The borough of Shoreham had so long and so often been guilty of such shameful bribery, that parliament, though with infinite reluctance, was at last obliged to interfere with that sacred, though abused trust, a charter; and disfranchising the corporation, established a new one;—soon after this, a general reformation was proposed in parliament; but did parliament approve it, though supported by the greatest ability? or, did the noble Lord who moved the disfranchisement of Shoreham, approve of tampering with the constitution of the realm?

There seems to have been propagated an opinion, that some radical defect exists in our constitution, and political reformers have heated their imaginations with many projects of cure: They have had from a neighbouring kingdom several letters, some of the answers have been shewn, though not all—it is not the part of honest men to conceal the truth, but what have they at stake?—yet this is not all, for after applying to all the system-mongers in Europe, we cannot find any two of them agree in their plans of reformation.

There are in this country two sets of men, who are interested in promoting a change. The catholics of the south, the known friends to monarchy; the presbyterians of the north, the votaries of republicanism; these latter have set on the others to make it a common cause, and between them both, the established church is blockaded; but if the people who have established the constitution, shall be overpowered by those who often attempted to destroy it, we shall have them quarrelling amongst themselves for votes, for seats in parliament, for authority, and for supremacy.

Sir, I oppose the introduction of this bill, because it comes from an armed body; because I and my ancestors have lived happy under the present constitution; because that constitution every day gives us new proofs of its excellence, and because I do not think it the part of a man to throw away a possession of experienced value, to run after wild speculation.

Right Hon. *John O'Neil*—I cannot be satisfied with giving a silent vote upon this subject. I have no objection to the bill as coming from another assembly; but even that is done away by the Hon. Gentleman adopting it as his own. As to the noto-

riety of the assembly meeting at the Rotunda, it is nothing but a number of gentlemen meeting to talk over a particular subject, and what subject ever came before parliament that had not been talked over before it was introduced? But this has the advantage of being digested by wise and honest men, nor do I think it a whit the worse for having been assisted with opinions from Great Britain. If, however, you will not accept the bill, on the ground which I have stated, and which are to me fully satisfactory, I now address you in the name of five thousand freeholders, who have commissioned me in their name to request a reform; in doing this I have discharged my duty, and now I speak my private opinion, which is, that as the public mind is much agitated, should you refuse this their reasonable desire, you will excite jealousies among the people which you will find it very difficult to allay.

Mr. Fitzgibbon—I thought that some proof of the necessity of a reform would have been urged, and that we should not be entertained with the flights of visionary speculatists into the regions of theory and hypothesis; but we endure all this, because the wise men of 1783, cannot reconcile certain abstract ideas of certain system-mongers in England, to the free and happy constitution of this country.

I do not oppose the introduction of this bill, because it is replete with absurdities, and directly contrary to the first response of the Dungannon oracle;—no, I will oppose it, because it comes under the mandate of a military congress. I shall take no notice of the manner in which the motion is attempted to be stolen upon us by surprise—we were to have had ten days previous notice of it. The Hon. Member who adopts and fathers the bill, tells us it is the favourite measure of the people; now I will undertake to trace it to its source, and shew, that it is the production of a military congress, assembled in the capital, appearing in military parade, and assuming all the mock order of a legislative assembly. This plan of a parliamentary reform, was first taken up by the society called, the constitutional society in England, for the purpose of shaking Lord North's government, when other engines had failed. Now, whether this society corresponded with certain persons in Belfast, is not well known, but this is certain, that in the month of July, forty-five corps assembled at Belfast, and there did resolve to hold a provincial congress at Dungannon, in the course of the last summer, in order to reform the constitution of this realm. In the mean time, Mr. Henry Joy, jun. of Belfast, printer of the Belfast paper, and secretary to the volunteers of that town, writes circular letters to sundry persons in England and elsewhere, describing what he was pleased to call the defects of our parliament, in the Commons House, of which he asserts, that there are but sixty-four

persons freely returned, the others, the offspring of venality. Under this very flattering description of the assembly which I have the honour now to address, he writes to a number of persons in England; whether he got answers from them all I will not say, but that he did get answers from several doctors, and from several majors is pretty notorious; and it is equally notorious, that with these answers, garbled and mutilated to his purpose, Mr. Henry Joy, jun. of Belfast, printer and secretary, proceeded to Dungannon; there they enter into sundry resolutions, and vote that a grand national convention shall sit in Dublin, in November, to carry these resolutions into effect. These determinations they published, and transmitted to every county in Ireland; the convention is now assembled in consequence of these determinations, they have sat three weeks, they have had their committees, and their sub-committees; they have printed their resolutions, every man has read them, and I have heard they are the most moderate that ever were entered into by fifty thousand men in arms, with fifty thousand more ready to join them; and will gentlemen tell me that the constitution is not invaded, when any man shall dare to make a proposition from fifty thousand armed men, with fifty thousand more ready to join them? Gentlemen say it is dangerous to commit the parliament and the volunteers; I know it is dangerous, I know the man that does it should answer the crime with his head; but I know the force of the laws is sufficient to crush them to atoms, and for one, I say, that I do not think life worth holding at the will of an armed demagogue. If ever there was an occasion that called upon every man possessing one sentiment of liberty, to exert it in the defence of the constitution, it is this, it is the present occasion which demands to spurn this bill away.

The bill of last session has been quoted; the motion for that bill was brought forward with due regard to the constitution, and proper parliamentary order; and what I would readily concede to an individual approaching our bar with proper respect, I would scorn to concede to men who presume to demand, and let not therefore the Hon. Member suppose I fear to meet the bill upon its own merits, though supported by the united wisdom of Mr. Henry Joy, jun. and all his learned and unlearned correspondents. There is another circumstance of idle babble gone forth, which only could have issued from the cells of Bedlam, that if this bill be rejected, some wretched fools will refuse to pay taxes; this cannot be the language of men of sense, I only mention it to let it be despised. I have also heard that a House of Parliament is to be built at Dungannon, and that we are to have annual sessions of convention to regulate the business of the nation in church and state. Gentlemen may call this liberty if they please; but I call it the worst kind of tyrann-

ny. To put an end to it at once, I am for rejecting this motion for leave to introduce a bill, and then the men with whom it originates will return to their homes, ashamed of having been so much misled.

Sir *Edward Newenham* said the county of Dublin was not a military congress, and yet it had instructed him on the subject of a parliamentary reform.

Prime Serjeant Kelly—I will rise up for the constitution of my country as I would for an old friend—I will admit he has faults and imperfections, but I will say, he has a thousand virtues and good qualities; and I will say, let his faults and his imperfections be forgotten—they are small, and what fall to the lot of every thing human, but let his virtues and good qualities be remembered, for they are transcendent, and have never been equalled upon earth. I will say, he has such virtues, and such perfections, that if you discard him once,

You ne'er will look upon his like again!

Our constitution has been thought the perfection of human wisdom, it has been the envy and admiration of all the world, and now when it is renovated with additional strength, it is a foolish thing to hazard a change.

We had no original constitution, nothing like a parliament in this country before our connection with England—we had indeed a Brehon law.—From that kingdom we received it by charter and by adoption; and if in England, where a reform is much more practicable, it has been rejected as dangerous and unconstitutional, how much stronger are the reasons for rejecting it here?

I have looked at this plan, and to me it appears only calculated to increase the aristocratical power of a few leading men in each country—it professes indeed to throw open the boroughs, but it would, in fact, turn counties into boroughs. Were it necessary to go into the bill itself, I could shew that it would produce every evil it pretends to rectify; but I am of opinion it should be rejected in the first instance, because it proposes to overturn the constitution, under which we have long enjoyed every blessing, and which has lately received so much additional strength.

I would oppose this scheme of innovation let it originate where it might, but my opposition to it is much strengthened when I know that it originates with the faction in England, who want to play off the volunteers as an engine against those whose places they wish to obtain, and who should afterwards govern this country by keeping up that variance and confusion which they now attempt to excite; but I hope the vote of this evening will destroy their machinations.

As to the volunteers, I love and admire them; they armed in the moment of danger, and terrified the enemy from our coast,

they have supported Parliament in recovering the rights of our free constitution—so far I say, their conduct is glorious; but when they interfere with the legislature, when they attempt to innovate upon the constitution, when they assume to direct the deliberations of this House, then I say they fall into a dangerous error, and must be resisted.

It is certain, that there is no instance where a large body of men in arms, and independent of the state, have assumed a controul that is not powerfully resisted, they have not overturned the state. I did hope that the volunteers would have been an exception to this rule—their conduct was so moderate, I thought when they had acquired a free constitution they would preserve it inviolable. But what right have the volunteers, or what right has the standing army to interfere with the deliberations of parliament? I can see no difference between this act and the mandate of the board of officers in the time of Cromwell.

I who have lived long, and who have seen the miseries of this country, can hardly believe the changes that have been made, or think the blessings we now enjoy real. I would have compounded that my son or my grandson should live to possess them, but I thank God, I live to see them with my own eyes—I live to see my country great and happy, and no vote, or act, of this, the evening of my days, shall tend to disturb that happiness.

I will never register the edict of a military association; and will any man say, that this is less the edict of a military association, because a member of parliament hands it to us by their order? Let us not then be a mock parliament, to sit here and register edicts, while another assembly possesses the power of issuing them; let us rather dissolve ourselves at once than tamely submit to be so degraded. I am not long a member of parliament, but while I sit in this House, it will ever be a capital objection with me against any bill, that it comes from an armed body. What does this bill import? that the last and the present parliaments were corrupt; the acts of this parliament can speak for themselves; they have been directed to the improvement of the advantages which the virtue of the last acquired, and therefore this is the most improper time that such a bill could be introduced, while the present parliament are making advantages of those rights which the last recovered.

Mr. Brown said that he strongly approved of the bill which was now produced, and he knew that the county of Limerick approved of the measure.

Mr. Brooke said his constituents had instructed him, and he should therefore support the measure.

Mr. Montgomery (of Cavan) had received instructions; there were parts of the bill he did not approve, but these parts might be amended in its progress, he should therefore support it.

Lord *Kingsborough*—I am astonished at the words that I have heard from the other side of the House; for my part, I know of no violence or attempt to overawe, I have seen or heard of none, except with the gentlemen on the other side; their language indeed seems intended to raise a tumult, to promote confusion, and to set people together by the ears. I hope this House will not reject the bill in the contemptuous manner proposed—let it be received and examined—if any part of it be wrong, reject that part, but retain what is right. I am instructed to support it by the largest county in the kingdom, the county of Cork, a county which has suffered severely by borough influence. This is to me a sufficient reason for supporting it, and I hope it will not be smuggled out of the House—it is neither decent nor parliamentary—nor will ministers, I can assure them, by such actions, gain the confidence of the people.

The *Solicitor General* spoke against the bill, but in so low a voice, that we are unable to give our readers a proper idea of his speech.

Mr. *Bushe* said, that before he did an act which would lessen our present constitution in the public esteem, he must see at least a plan of a better one. It was needless for the Honourable Mover to declare from whence he brought the present one; he had a newspaper in his pocket where it was printed—It came from an armed meeting which had the sword for their writ, and a mutilated correspondence for their documents; he was too much a friend to volunteers to approve of a convention—that convention would be the ruin of the volunteer institution—He would assert as warmly as the Honourable Gentleman, that the people had a right to carry arms, but he denied that they derived from those arms any right to be a proposing power in the state. They represented men who were not freeholders, and they represented those who were so, not as being electors, but as being soldiers. The implication was, that they would act, not in their constitutional but in their military capacity: an implication which frightened commerce, and prevented men of capitals from settling in Ireland. The English papers, every information we have from England, tell us, that they are at present speculating upon the issue of this great argument: Whether the volunteers shall overcome the parliament, or whether they themselves shall be dashed to pieces against the rock of the constitution. We know that the volunteers have no ill intentions, but other men will never believe it, unless we convince the world of that truth, by daring to reject the bill which comes from them. This bill is not the measure of the people, it is but a few days old; it is contrary to every idea of reform they have ever adopted. It is the most complete dereliction of every principle of justice and equality that ever was offered to the public astonishment. It takes away

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the rights of men who ought to vote, and increases the very evil we complain of. He used several arguments to shew, that plan was so defective that it could not last two years. As individuals, he respected the proposers of it; but he should have respected them more, if they had waited to try for one session that constitution, which two years ago they would have died to preserve. It admitted leasehold voters who were new in our constitution. What would be the expostulation of the Roman Catholics, if we refused them the rights which they affluently possessed? We had no reasonable excuse to offer them; we should make four fifths of our fellow subjects our masters, if we accepted, or our enemies, if we refused them.

Mr. *Hartley*—I have the honour to represent the metropolis of the kingdom, and am instructed to support a parliamentary reform—an instruction the more pleasing, as it perfectly coincides with my opinion: I therefore contend for its discussion.

Mr. *Stewart* testified his astonishment at the objections made to the reception of the bill—If (said he) the voice of the volunteers is not to be attended to, attend to the voice of the county of Tyrone, who, through me, demand from you a discussion of this important bill.

Mr. *Marcus Beresford*—The zealous assertor of public liberty, and reformer of the constitution, has introduced the example of the Duke of Portland, who he says sent volunteer ambassadors to the throne. He will allow, I am sure, that example is a very bad argument, because in human affairs, two situations exactly similar, hardly ever occur. There was not then an armed body, sitting, attempting to over-awe parliament; neither were the volunteers endeavouring to alter the constitution. Is the Honourable Gentleman, and the Right Honourable Gentleman who supports him, so soon tired of the constitution which they have been so instrumental in recovering; or do they wish to transfer to the convention, that power which their efforts have assisted to wrest from the privy council?—The Right Honourable Member says, that the bill was only talked over by a set of gentlemen, sitting and conversing like any other set of gentlemen. But will he deny that it originated with an armed assembly, and that no man who was not clad in military array, was permitted to speak in that assembly? Will he deny that he supports it in obedience to the vote of that assembly, and that the Honourable Mover has their special order for bringing it? however, that gentleman may with great truth say, they are his own sentiments, for in the conversation mentioned, his sentiments were irresistible and unresisted.—The committee of correspondence has been mentioned; let me say one word of them. I think it a little unfair of that committee, that they should mutilate and garble the letters which they have received; for I have reason to think, that the oracles in

England, by whose answers we are to be decided, have, like the oracles of old, given some answers that would support this bill, if they were of any authority, but they have also given some that would operate directly against it.

I have but another word—it is a complaint which I blush to make of some members of this House. Gentlemen who affect to prefer a spurious illegitimate meeting, to their duty in parliament. There was an instance of it this day, on the committee for trying the Cork election, where, though each of the parties engaged are under a daily expence of an hundred guineas, yet before any progress could be made, that committee adjourned this morning, that the gentlemen who are on it, and are delegates, might have an opportunity of attending the convention at the Rotunda.—I opposed it, and moved that the room should be cleared, that we might debate the impropriety of such a proceeding; but this was in vain, for so intent were gentlemen upon gaining the applause of the spectators, that this privilege, which every member of parliament possesses *of right*, was opposed.

Mr. *Burgb* (of Old Town) could not but look upon the bill as sent in by an armed convention, and as such, should reject it. He said, he rose on account of two charges that had been endeavoured to be fastened on those who should do so; one of disrespect and inconsistency with regard to the volunteers in general; the other of opposing or rejecting it as a bill of reform; both of which he disclaimed. He had been asked, “why approve of the agency of the volunteers in this metropolis, at the time of the free trade, and on other occasions, and spurn at it now?” He apprehended there was a wide difference between their addressing and petitioning, their following up the two Houses of parliament to the Castle, their waiting for, and supporting their measures; and the forming themselves into another house of legislation, to awe, prejudice and dictate; between lining the streets, to attend and compliment and approve, and marching through them to sit, debate and controul. They could not in the former instance, be said to controul the House any more than the guards who lined the streets for the viceroy, could be said to controul or lead his going to parliament; in the latter, they took away all agency from parliament. It had been said, that “as freemen they had a right to arms, if so, why object to its coming from them sitting and debating in arms?”—The people of England had equally a right to arms; and yet when a bill of reform had been solemnly debated and rejected there, they did not meet and debate in arms; they were not induced to do so by the rejection of a bill.—Here it seems, it must be done previous to its introduction, and even as the mode of it.

As to its being a bill of reform, so far from rejecting it on that ground, he thought some reform was to be desired, particu-

larly in the oath of a member, and the mode of election in the greater towns. But introduced as that bill was, he thought himself precluded from going into its merits, and that he should be unworthy of being a member of that House, or of society, if he was not ready to meet any consequence of rejecting it in the first instance.

Mr. *Parsons* spoke in support of the bill, and argued strongly the necessity of a reform, from the many defects in the representation, and the many faults which parliament had committed.

Mr. *George Ogle*.—I do not rise to debate the merits of this bill, but I have been instructed by my constituents of the county I have the honour to represent, the only authority on earth that has any right to instruct me, or that I will pay any attention to. In obedience therefore to their instructions, I shall vote for receiving a bill which professes to be for the more equal representation of the people in parliament.

Mr. *Richard Hely Hutchinson* said, he should make no apology for troubling the House on such a subject as the present; it was of such infinite concernment to them all, that every man who had ever addressed them upon any occasion, appeared to him to be called upon to speak out, and to deliver his sentiments, whatever they might be. Totally unconnected as he was with any person who possessed borough influence, and by no means disinclined to any reasonable plan for lessening that influence, he thought he looked at the present question with as little bias to mislead his judgment as any man who heard him; and therefore from no selfish motive, but the strongest conviction that he owed it to the constitution and to the public decorum, he rose to refuse his assent to the bill. He said, it was his intention to speak with caution and deference, but with an honest freedom; without fear of any man or number of men; conscious as he was, that the present moment was a very critical one, and required the exertion of the utmost moderation and the greatest firmness. To compensate for his own inexperience, he wished to follow the wisdom of others, and had always thought those countries happy, who were blessed with wise legislators, capable of framing their constitutions, and in whom their fellow citizens reposed a just confidence, founded on well-known abilities, and well-tried experience. In these nations, the care of forming constitutions was devolved on philosophers and statesmen, eminent for their knowledge of mankind, for their public virtues and integrity, who from having seen many days, and conversed with many men, were thoroughly well acquainted with their virtues, vices, passions and propensities, and could judge for their countrymen better than these could for themselves. Yet, one of these great law-givers, after he had framed a constitution for his country, though he must have been sensible, that his and every other human in-

stitution was necessarily subject to errors and defect—yet he thought the greatest benefit he could confer on his fellow-citizens was, to obtain their solemn promise that these laws should not be changed during his absence; and, to make this of perpetual force, he became a voluntary exile, and never returned to his country. The consequence is known—They preserved their liberties longer than any nation that ever existed; they lost those liberties, when the mistaken friends of liberty, attempted to strengthen it, as they thought, by introducing levelling principles.

Another great legislator, of the most various abilities that ever man perhaps possessed, acknowledged that he had not given his country the best constitution, but the best she was able to bear.—And why? because, he said, they were armed citizens, of the highest passions, of the finest feelings, of the most refined sentiments, possessed of an enthusiastic rage for liberty; but at the same time restless and discontented, disposed to innovation, factious in the full flow of prosperity, and sometimes dissatisfied with the best of men, and the best of measures. The event shewed, that he perfectly understood the genius of his countrymen, for these dispositions, and an unceasing desire of change, overturned that constitution which he had so wisely established.

Greece indeed, he said, had produced but two of those great men, but Ireland has twenty thousand Lycurgusses, and twenty thousand Solons, who to their immortal honour, have been the glorious instruments in restoring the constitution, and who are now desirous to frame it anew.

He said, he had heard their voice with reverence, but was distracted with different sentiments of different men. One set of men advise to abolish what they call rotten boroughs; another, that all elections should be county elections; many are for restoring to their Roman Catholic brethren, the right of suffrage; many are against it; some are for disfranchising all forty shilling freeholders; others for admitting termers for years. A great authority advises, that all men, including every beggar, should vote, and that each mendicant should have one hand open for alms, but by all means shut against bribes, and that with the other he should give in a representative of the people. Another complains of 14 folio volumes of statutes, of 24 volumes abridging the common law, and desires you to repeal them all, and take his nostrum, a little octavo volume, in their stead.—In these circumstances, said he, I ask, *quid sequar, aut quem?* I am answered by the voice of the constitution, directing me to follow the representative wisdom of the nation, and not the suggestions of any body of men, however highly and justly respectable, to the result of whose deliberations the law has annexed no constitutional authority.

But which, he asked, are those rotten boroughs, those which a few individuals decisively influence. He said, he was willing to acknowledge and to lament, that there were too many such, and that he earnestly wished for a remedy, if any could be found, not worse than the disease. But some of those places, he observed, had already recovered their liberties, and others were in the progress to recover theirs. He adverted to the petition from Kilmallock, and said the sexton of that borough had assured us, that the grave of liberty was not yet dug there, and the parson had declared that he had not yet preached its funeral sermon. And many boroughs, he asserted, might be restored to their full franchises, if acts of parliament, which had crept in to deprive particular places of their liberties were repealed, and judicial decisions, under pretence of preventing popular tumult, but which were in effect to prevent popular discussion, rescinded; and from the spirit of the times, he looked to these salutary events as likely soon to take place. But if, continued he, you proceed to annihilate the power of sending members to parliament, or to change the constitution, in all those boroughs where the power of a few individuals is decisive, the pruning knife will extend much farther, and wound more deeply than some persons seem to be aware of. But would it be just to change the constitutions of all such boroughs, and would it be wise, if it were just? Several of them were the encouragement to men for building great towns, for planting them with inhabitants, for encouraging arts and manufactures, and promoting civilization; or they were the rewards for bestowing those benefits on their fellow citizens. In acquiring those rewards, and defending those possessions, many great families had expended their properties, and shed their blood. He had no connection with any of them; but if some of the great protectors, or first ornaments of the country should be found in these circumstances, would it be just to deprive their descendants of the well-earned weight in the community, obtained by the virtues of their ancestors; or would it be wise to pluck away every feather from the wing of the few great families who remain, and who have so much contributed to the improvement, strength, and defence of this kingdom?

To those who wished that all the elections should be county elections, to encrease the number of voters, and to admit the lowest freeholders, and even the termor for years, into a participation of the right of suffrage, he begged to ask, whether they were sure this may not throw great weight into the aristocratic scale? He said, he was certain it would, and therefore objected to it. If the multiplying the number of votes would indeed add weight to the democratic scale, he asked another question; whether this multiplying of votes may not overturn the constitution? He feared it would, and he formed that opinion from the

example of one of the greatest states that ever existed. Rome had acquired a great empire under a constitution of a mixed nature, in which the democratic preponderated. The enthusiasts for liberty thought she was not sufficiently free. The democratic weight was to be encreased, and how? By encreasing the number of voters. All the people of Italy, they said, have assisted you in acquiring this great empire, and they ought to share equally with you in the government of it. The moderate men at length yielded; the levelling principles at length prevailed.—An army of voters rushed to Rome. Confusion, and anarchy, and civil war ensued. The constitution was subverted, and the first demagogue became the tyrant of his country.—The people of Italy had, he said, a natural claim to divide the power, it was founded on the specious pretext of liberty and equality; but these principles were carried beyond their due bounds, by means not consistent with true government, and liberty was lost by the imprudent efforts made to extend it.—Let us, says he, remember that these in Rome were in the midst of her greatest success and prosperity, and let us shudder at the example.

He said, it was dangerous to tell the people that their constitution is a bad one, before we are to offer them a better. What are they now told? You have no representatives—there is no parliament—you have no government—you are in a state of nature. In the midst of every circumstance that can make a people happy, except contentment, you are telling them that they are the most wretched slaves upon earth. He said, he was afraid they might believe it at last. He said, their situation put him in mind of the singular wager stated among physicians, that they would make any man in perfect health think himself ill, and in consequence really be so. His acquaintance was stationed there in different places, and as they met him, said one, what is the matter, you do not look well; a second told him he looked very ill, and wondered to see him out of his house; a third observed his eyes were sunk in his head, and the seeds of some mortal disorder about him. At length a whole groupe of his acquaintance confirmed the symptoms of mortality, and recommended his bed and a physician. He took their advice, and in due time died in good earnest. The physician won his wager, and the patient lost his life.

Gentlemen on this side of the House had been, he said, charged repeatedly during the course of that debate, with having introduced the first mention of the volunteers. He asserted the fact to be directly otherwise, and that the convention had been first introduced on the other side of the House, or more directly speaking, that the convention had introduced the bill about the admission of which they were then debating; and in support of his assertion, he called upon the Hon. Member who made the mo-

tion, or the Right Hon. Member who seconded it, to declare, whether there was not an express order of the convention, directing them to propose that bill to the House, and to contradict him if he was not founded in asserting, as he did, that there was.

Sir John Parnel.—I cannot sit patiently by, and see the constitution of my country overturned.—The gentlemen who introduce this bill, use but one argument in support of it; that is, they disclaim the interference of the convention, and profess it to be their own. But I will ask them, is it their own alone, did they discuss it no where else? and if they shall be ashamed to say, they did not, let the House maintain its own dignity, and stand or fall by it. If gentlemen feel as I do, they will oppose the introduction of this bill. If they feel that it is the consequence of the debate of another assembly, they will reject it with scorn; for if it becomes a question whether the authority of the state resides in parliament, or another body, that question must be decided. If there are two rivals for power, one of them must give way; and I doubt not, the people will rather support the constitution under which they may enjoy every blessing, than a self-created, self-assumed authority, unknown to the laws.

Mr. Browne (of the College) declared, the question came upon him unexpectedly; however he could not bear to be silent upon so grand an occasion. He could not endure the thought, that while the great names who offered the bill, floated down the stream of time, his little bark should not be seen to pursue the triumph.

The question is magnificent and simple; it is whether you will receive a bill of the first magnitude, introduced by the first men in the House? A bill which professed to restore the constitution to its pristine vigour, and that beauty with which it appears in theory and in history, which proffers to add sinews to virtue, and perpetuity to liberty. It seems to be the messenger of glad tidings. It bears a promising countenance, *multum magna & præclara minantis*. We ought to receive it, even if its garb was a little exceptionable; but it is not; it approaches you in the robes of decency, with the modesty and firmness of determined virtue. It does not enter these walls with force; but it is received with force. It is unattended with violence; but it is met with violence. I have seen no violence this night, but on the part of administration.

No man, he said, had pretended to say, that a reform was not necessary; one gentleman had indeed asserted, that no instance could be produced of a contest between parliament and the crown, where parliament had not been victorious. But where could an instance be produced of such a contest of late years? The prevailing influence of the crown was too great to allow

of such a contest; and where there was no contest, there could be no victory. In the last century there was a contest; and why? because influence did not exist; but the phrenzy of administration had conjured up terrific forms, which no man in his sober senses could see. They were not afraid of volunteers when we seemed to be on the eve of a quarrel with England; or when those volunteers were raising the gentlemen, who now supported government, into consequence.

Gentlemen had intimated that there was a French influence at the bottom of the measure; if they meant that the proposers were conscious of it, it was a charge of high treason, and ought to be made in a solemn manner; if they supposed them to be dupes, he had too good an opinion of the abilities of the proposers, to pay credit to such a ridiculous assertion.

It had been said, it appeared from late events, parliament had not been corrupt, and therefore a reform was not to be sought, i. e. a reform was not to be sought when parliament was virtuous, and it was possible to acquire it; but the pursuit ought to be deferred till parliament was notoriously corrupt, and there was no chance of succeeding in the attempt.

Gentlemen have talked of spurning the bill. It was not parliamentary or decent language, especially when the bill was introduced by the first men in the House. He was sure those who spurned it, treated virtue with contumely. They said to corruption, live for ever: What they said to their country, that country must judge.

Mr. *Hatton* said, he was against the admission of the bill, as being hastily and prematurely brought in, and that the people throughout the kingdom do not know its contents.

Mr. *Trench* declared himself in favour of the reform, and said he was instructed by his constituents to support it; and therefore should vote for admitting the bill.

Mr. *Metge* said, that though he might approve of a reform, this was not in that shape in which he wished to meet it.

Mr. *Handcock* said, though he did not approve of all the particulars of the bill, he should vote for its admission, as he was instructed by his constituents to support a parliamentary reform.

Mr. *William Foster* was against the introduction of the bill, as coming from an armed body, and as even there it had been unfairly debated, no man being allowed to oppose the ruling power. He was, he said, a friend to a constitutional reform, but though he would reserve himself for a proper occasion, he would oppose the present bill.

General *Cunningham*.—Every man who has a tongue or a hand, is called upon to oppose this motion, which puts the liberty of the country at stake—I see it through an armed medium. Will any man tell me that the ink is yet dry, which wrote

the resolution, authorizing those gentlemen to present this bill from the convention?—I always speak with freedom, and no man has ever expressed greater reverence for the volunteers than I have done, while they act in support of the laws, but not when they assume to themselves a legislative authority. At the time of their first arming, I thought them dangerous, but their actions raised my respect, when they undertook to defend the country from foreign invasion, when they undertook to preserve the public peace; when they undertook to support parliament in asserting the constitution, then I respected them; but when I find them erecting a self-created body, when I find they mean to controul parliament, I will oppose them, I will oppose them in this House and out of this House, with my fortune and with my life.

The volunteers had two opportunities of leaving a name of immortal honour—if they had disarmed, they had acted nobly, or if when they had formed these resolutions, they had gone to their respective homes, disarmed themselves, and in brown coats petitioned as freeholders, in that case they had acted nobly. The gentlemen deny that this bill is their order—if so, why was it not presented last week? because their orders were not then issued—why is it presented now? because they are.

I was always of opinion that a reform ought to be introduced, and I always shall be of that opinion, when an armed force is not attempting to overawe me; but I look upon charters as sacred, and will vote for a reform upon constitutional grounds. If a love for this country characterizes a volunteer, I am a volunteer myself. I have voluntarily transplanted my family and my property into it, I mean to live and die in it. I am a volunteer improver of land, a volunteer builder of houses, ask my neighbours, and my friends, and tenants, whether I am not the right sort of a volunteer—It is such volunteers as I that this country now wants in time of peace, and it would not surprize me to see any gentleman that attempts to disturb the peace, voted out of the society of volunteers.

Mr. *Kearney* was for the bill; are you afraid, said he, to look a reform in the face?

Mr. *Newill* and Mr. *O'Hara*, spoke each in support of the bill.

Mr. *Cabbe* said, he thought on such an occasion silence would be criminal, and he would oppose the bill on a different ground from any that had been taken, because it went to establish a perpetual convention at the Rotunda. The volunteers of America, he said, had taken up arms to obtain the independence of their country, and laid them down at the peace, that they might not interfere with their legislature; but our volunteers had acted differently, for after the independence of the country is obtain-

ed, they attempt to establish, in themselves, a legislative authority.

Mr. Arthur Wolfe.—I will vote against the bill, because I disapprove the plan of reform it contains.

Mr. Forbes.—I rise free and unfettered by test or instruction, though representing as independent a place as any in Ireland.—No man abhors the idea of having this House overawed more than I do, for the moment this House is overawed, the constitution is at an end. I own, I could have wished that the meeting of delegates had not been held in the heart of the metropolis, though I well know the purity of their intentions; but the ignorant multitude do not know it; and if they suppose any power superior to parliament, that moment there is an end to their obedience.—But what evidence have we that this bill comes from that assembly? None, but the positive declaration of two members, that it does not, that it is their own—and can I then vote against a bill which is a favourite measure of my own? Is that assembly to fright me out of my propriety, and make me pursue a conduct contrary to my opinion? No, I shall vote for receiving the bill.

Colonel *Maffry* spoke in support of the bill: He said he was instructed by 3000 freeholders to support a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament.

Mr. Hardy said, that if as a public man, any one object was nearer to his heart than another, it was, that the dignity, the honour, and independence of parliament should be preserved inviolate. It was therefore, he continued, under the influence of those feelings, operating at all times with sufficient energy on his mind, and certainly more awakened than they ever were at that hour, (for considering the turn the debate had taken, it was a serious hour to Ireland) that he then ventured to address himself to the chair, and begged leave to speak, not to the merits or demerits of the bill, the introduction of which had been then moved for, nor to any specific plan of parliamentary reform; for to enter into the discussion of such questions at that time, would be equally unparliamentary and improper; but he wished to say a few words as to the necessity, the absolute necessity that existed, in his opinion, of entering fairly and unequivocally into the subject then before the House.—He then made some remarks on the dignity of parliament, which had been so much talked of that night; that it should be preserved, not by pompous self-approving resolutions—resolutions which could give no additional grace to good measures, and which would only be laughed at, when meant to lend a temporary and delusive aid to pernicious ones; but that it should be supported by the confidence of the people, by public opinion, the free basis of every free government in the world.

He said, that as to the convention, which gentlemen had been pleased to allude to so frequently in the course of the debate; he should have wished not to have touched on it, as his ideas on that subject would not perhaps fully meet those of either party; but thus much he would say, that as far as dignity of character, weight of property, and he firmly believed, purity of intention could ensure respect, that assembly was fully entitled to it.—That from the gentlemen who composed that convention, he could apprehend no danger to the constitution. That as to the military assembly sitting in the metropolis, he agreed with gentlemen that it was a novel and extraordinary proceeding, nor did he wish to see it drawn into a precedent; but he would ask, was not the situation of Ireland itself novel and extraordinary?—Was not the emancipation of our commerce extraordinary and unexpected?—Was not the emancipation of our constitution equally so?—In fact, the proceedings of this country, and the success with which they have been crowned, have been matter of astonishment, not only to the people of Ireland, but to Europe.—Could it possibly be expected in such a country as this, where the impetuosity and ardour of the people are almost proverbial, that such a temper when thrown into action, would subside in a moment, and that those great events which we have lately seen pass before us, would not naturally call up others equally novel, equally unprecedented in the annals of this country?—As to the continuation of such events he by no means wished it, for no rational man could possibly deny that the repetition of such proceedings, must, from the very nature of them, shake the best-constructed government in the world, and therefore it behoved the House of Commons to take the subject proposed, into their own hands, and as soon as possible, to meet it with temper and with firmness, to be above the little finess of setting their dignity against their duty, of sheltering themselves in their dereliction of the latter, by an affected support of the former, and above all, by one great comprehensive honest investigation of this subject, to invite the people to prefer an early confidence in them, their newly elected, natural guardians of their rights, to any body of men in the world.

It had been said that the bill for a reform was the work of the convention—to that he could only say, that had there been the slightest allusion to, the slightest avowal of the interposition of the convention in this business, he would not hesitate an instant as to the manner of his voting that night; for this he would always insist on—that if the House of Commons was brought together to register their resolutions with perhaps the semblance and empty forms of a debate, but in fact without the freedom of one, parliament would from that hour stand degraded, and no act of attainder ever yet blasted the honours

of an ancient House, and more completely annihilated its consequence in a moment, than such an unqualified acquiescence on the part of the House of Commons would destroy theirs. But, in fact, whatever share the convention might have had in it, the Honourable Gentleman who made the motion, and the Right Honourable Gentleman who seconded it, bring it forward as their own act, and not that of any supposed body of men whatsoever—Does not this disavowal of conventional interference tacitly pay this House that respect, the infringement of which is so loudly exclaimed against; and may not those who are the most severely jealous of its dignity be in some measure satisfied, when the Right Hon. Gentleman, notwithstanding all the predominant influence which his great and overhadowing abilities are said to have secured to him in that convention, does not attempt to appear before gentlemen in any other character than that of an undistinguished member of parliament, properly and constitutionally asking leave to bring in a bill to remove certain defects in the representation of the people?

He said, that he had not the vanity or the presumption to imagine that what he could say that night would have any particular weight with any man, or description of men in that House, and if, after all, there should be found some gentlemen who were both inimical to the principle of a reform, but who were really and sincerely alarmed at the idea of an armed assembly sitting in the metropolis, and therefore would not lend their support to any proposition which could be supposed by any means whatever to originate in such an assembly, however resolved to vote for such proposition on another occasion, they were certainly every way justified in doing so; the delicacy and timidity of such men, with regard to the constitution, was on the purest principles of patriotism perfectly laudable; but if (and he spoke with great deference) there were any gentlemen who were not only averse to the introduction of the bill that night, but who were equally adverse to the discussion of such a question at any time whatsoever, however unexceptionable, however constitutional its origin, who were in short resolved to get rid of the question at all events, to such gentlemen he should, with all humility, take leave to say one or two words—That what he wished to impress on the minds of gentlemen at present was this: That not only a great revolution had taken place in the constitution of this country, but a great revolution had taken place in the public mind itself. It would be the province of a philosophic historian hereafter to elucidate the many causes which gradually led to this extraordinary metamorphosis which had taken place, not only in this country, but more or less in many countries in Europe, and so far it undoubtedly formed a remarkable æra in the history of human in-

tellect. It was sufficient for him that it had taken place, and if it had, this conclusion in his opinion inevitably followed—That as the sentiments of the people at large are changed, the mode of conducting national business, or the affairs of parliament must also be changed, or in other words, that what was done formerly, could not with any great propriety, or even safety, be done now; and that great public questions must be treated at present in a different manner by parliament, from what they were, when this country was in little better than a state of political infancy; that if we compared Ireland as it stood now, with what it was even thirty years ago, the dissimilitude would strike the most inobservant, and therefore he would hazard this augury, that before the end of the century government would find the necessity of silently conforming in many instances to the temper and the sentiments which had lately sprung up amongst us—This would argue no particular debility in one administration more than another, it would be no improvident, lamentable concession to the idle clamour of the day; it would be no alteration of the constitution, it would be only a just conformity to that mutation of circumstances, and dispositions which the course of time naturally brought along with it, and which every wise government, must, for its own preservation, necessarily attend to.—If former parliaments had been complained of, as so lost to all feeling of the rights of this kingdom, as to make the journals of that House in many instances, not the records of a great people, but the monuments of national imbecility, the authenticated disgrace of the people of Ireland, he was not at all surprized at it, on the contrary, he should have been much surprized had it been otherwise; for it is the characteristic of all power, if it meets no resistance in the general sentiment, to be still progressive; and there was something in the ignominious repose of the national mind some years back, which seemed absolutely to court every species of hostility and insult, on the part of government. What had an English supremacy in an Irish aristocracy formerly to encounter, in their sullen march over this exhausted country? Turn which way they would, the public mind exhibited a frightful picture of impoverishment—But thank God, things were altered, and what accorded extremely well with a lacerated province, which was content to see one and the same parliament, sit in defiance of all constitution for three and thirty years together, will hardly accord with the affairs of a rising kingdom, where commerce and constitution were both to be found.

He begged gentlemen therefore to advert to this circumstance, which, though with the uninformed mass of mankind totally inoperative perhaps, would, he flattered himself, be paid some little attention to by those whom he had the honour of then addressing. It was, in fact, beneath the dignity of any House

of Commons to evade the discussion of a great constitutional question, but for the present House, which had been so recently elected, and elected almost in the very effulgence of the Irish revolution, for such a House to shrink totally back from the very first constitutional question that came before it, without any stipulation on the part of those who opposed it now, to support it on a future day when brought forward in what appeared to them a less questionable form, would, in his opinion, be rather disgraceful—All he wished and desired was, that whatever might be the fate of this, or that particular plan, the question of reform might undergo a discussion suitable to the dignity and importance of the subject; that there never was a question which gave rise to such a variety of opinions; but that, however, he hoped something might be collected from this discordancy, which though it should not perfectly suit the ideas of people at present, might at least convince them that the House of Commons went seriously into the investigation of this great business; that they meant fairly by them, and that they were not deficient in respect either to the people or to themselves—If they did not, if they merely shifted off the question on account of the convention, without any serious intention of taking it up themselves, what would be the consequence? The question might indeed be exiled again, and again, from that House; but it would not be in their power to banish it from the people. They would have “scoched the snake, not killed it.” The idea of a reform, continued he, has already been taken up by many respectable counties, and if absolutely rejected to night, will in all probability be taken up by many more; the minds of people will be more heated than ever, and the event will be, that after many a conflict in this House, instead of a long digested, moderate, rational plan of reform, if reform shall be found necessary; such a reform as would be exactly congenial to the principles of the constitution, and no more; and which would therefore, when carried into execution justify the legislature in nothing—one solemn and final halt in the progress of reformation, and rising as one man against any further demands whatever, instead of this we shall, in some giddy inauspicious moment, precipitantly adopt some plan, every feature of which will denote the wild hostility against the constitution which produced it; which instead of amending, will tear the frame of government to pieces, and the very people who brought it forward, will be the first to abhor it, and lament their own destructive temerity when it is too late—He concluded with giving his affirmative to the question.

Mr. *Curren* said, he was surprised to see a man, rising up with the violence of a Maniac, to tell us that this bill ought not to be received while the convention was sitting; but that convention

and the volunteers in general, you will not find your enemies; they have no other enemies but the enemies of their country.—That a reform has long been necessary the history of this country, said he, evinces. Why were you so long slaves, but because the parliament wanted a reform?—Why, just after your hearts throbbed at your new acquired constitution, at the glory of Ireland, did you sink that glory in the slavery of an adulatory address, but that you wanted a reform? The man who so violently opposes this day a reform, was once the patron of such a measure; but perhaps, we shall soon behold him seated where no storms shall fret him.

What have we been doing since we met? We have been talking of retrenchment, and running a course of the most profligate profusion, while our miserable fellow-creatures are roaming the streets for bread. [Here he gave a most pathetic picture of the distress of the poor] But some of our new statesmen would guide the government if it was as easy to be managed as a carriage with four horses by an expert charioteer. Your argument, that if the measure comes from volunteers you will reject it, is a denunciation that you consider them as enemies: I caution the House not to make a public declaration of war!

Sir Henry Haristhonge was for receiving the bill.

Mr. John Toler said, he conceived that in the present question the privilege of parliament was deeply involved; the communication with the people was intercepted, and the power of propounding taken out of the hands of the House. He objected to the introduction of the bill, as it was not the legitimate offspring either of the parliament or the people. It was the spurious abortion of the Lying-in-Hospital, *sent into the world before its time—scarce half made up*. It was intitled to be dignified by such sponsors as introduced it, but who were now so ashamed of it, that they denied where they found it, and were likely to run away from it as from a bastard child.

He said, that any great innovation in the mode of receiving the suffrages of the people, had at all times and in all countries been the forerunners of revolutions; for this it was not necessary to look further than to the history of Rome, and the convulsions which were attendant upon the tribes and centuries of that state.—

The representation of this country, he said, flowed from two different sources, the provincial and the municipal: He was averse from making any material change in the former, but he was free to acknowledge, that at a proper time the latter ought to be the subject of reform. But, he said, that he would never annihilate municipal rights by a sweep, but was ready to accede in correcting local abuses of those rights, whenever such abuses had crept in.

He said, he knew many instances, where the charter rights of towns had been violated—the law, as it stands, and the interven-

tion of this House in applying remedies to the particular mischiefs that may be found sufficient to the evil. The conduct of Great Britain, said he, in the case of Shoreham and Hindon, is to the point. By observing such a conduct, said he, you will not shake first principles, you will not hazard an hinge of your connexion with Great Britain, by destroying that similarity of constitution, which may be one of the strongest bonds of our connexion, and which designing men of another country might wish to disturb.—He said, he would not allow every presumptuous Harrington to plunge the constitution into his favourite ocean, under a hope that it might be plucked up again by the drowned locks.—He said, he would worship the genius of the old constitution, in her ancient temple, and would not prostrate himself to the graven image of every rash idolater, who wishes to make an idol of himself. In this temple, said he, we may repel innovations as from a tower which has stood the shock of time, and the brunt of many a storm, and you should arrest the daring hand that attempts to pick a stone away, the loss of which may bring the whole in ruins on your heads.

Colonel *Massey* (of the county of Limerick,) said, that that county had instructed him to support in parliament, a bill for the more equal representation of the people. He did not, he said, understand what the Honourable Gentleman, (Mr. Fitzgibbon) meant, by saying, that he had conversed with the principal people of the county, and that they required no such reform; for he had the honour to be instructed by a meeting, convened in a proper manner, and consisting of the most independent men in the county, who are of opinion, that such a reform was indispensably necessary; and as the Honourable Gentleman who introduced the bill, avowed it as his own act, and not the act of convention, he could see no objection to the receiving of it.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* rose to explain; he said, that when he mentioned the opinion of the most respectable gentlemen in the county of Limerick, he meant such of them as he had the honour to converse with on this subject; but as to the county meetings, who were composed of truly independent and respectable men, he could not entirely rely on their opinion. There had, he said, been two county meetings, at the least forty members attended, of that number, twenty-three were against any alteration of the constitution, and seventeen were for it; but the seventeen voted the twenty-three a minority; and so carried their point.

Mr. *Westby*.—Though I have not received any instructions from the county I have the honour of representing, relative to a parliamentary reform; and though I hold myself implicitly bound to obey the instructions of my constituents, yet I confess I should have ascribed little merit to myself in obeying them, on a question of this nature, which so cordially meets my warmest approba-

tion.—I have been a delegate of that respectable convention, whose name has been so frequently introduced by gentlemen on the other side of the House; I glory in the name, and hold myself more honoured by being appointed a delegate, by the unanimous voice of every corps in my county, than if sent into this House by the means of any rotten and venal borough. The members of the convention were gentlemen of extensive landed property, and possessed of the first abilities; whose every wish was for the welfare of their country.—The name of volunteer has been this night undeservedly reprobated in this House; but in every uninfluenced part of the kingdom, they are adored as the restorers of our long with-held rights. Gentlemen have said, that they will not be intimidated into a measure; neither shall any kind of intimidation prevent me from declaring, that it is not to an Irish House of Commons, nor to a British ministry, that we are indebted for our newly acquired immunities; for long had the distresses of Ireland, lain prostrate at the foot of the British throne; too long had our groans echoed within the walls of a British court, nor did it once deign to listen to our complaints, 'till those, now reprobated men, the volunteers of Ireland, bravely demanded those rights, which could no longer be with-held.—The volunteers little require my feeble tribute of praise; their own good conduct forms their best and noblest panegyric.—Notwithstanding, Sir, I have been a member of that illustrious convention, yet I consider myself as free, and unprejudiced as any member in this House, to vote on the question when it shall come before you; and however warm a friend I acknowledge myself to be to the principles of the bill, yet I by no means pledge myself to support it in every stage; but the unwillingness of gentlemen on one side of this House, to give this measure an impartial hearing, without attempting to advance any arguments against it, is to me, if possible, a stronger inducement to vote for its reception.—If there be any impropriety in it, let it be amended. The bill is open to fair reasoning and unbiassed argument, for which the several readings will give ample opportunity. It is therefore almost superfluous to say, I shall vote for receiving the bill.

Mr. Coote said, that as every member was called upon to declare his sentiments, he would express his, though unprepared, and with a mind very unfit for speaking, from the impression of a recent melancholy event. That he did not consider this merely as a question, whether the Right Honourable Mover for the bill should have leave to bring it forward or not; if he considered it in that light, the respect and the regard which he had for the Honourable Mover would secure his decided concurrence. That he considered this question, of all others at this moment, the most important. It was no less, than whether the House of Commons, the constitutional representatives of the people, shall give

energy and efficacy to the resolutions of another assembly, unknown to the constitution. It has been said, that we can have no knowledge of the resolutions of the convention.—He asked whether there was an individual in this House, or out of it, unless he keeping in darkness, or wandering in the light for three weeks, who does not know that the convention has been sitting in order to reform the constitution. That however expedient and advisable it would be in some respects to make new regulations, a total alteration of the constitution he never would consent to. In our every change of it every man must pause, and recollect that constitution was dearly purchased by the blood of our ancestors; that he had the honour to be descended from one who shed his blood in defence of the constitution, and inheriting the same principles, he would resist what he thought an innovation of the constitution; he recollected a sentiment of an excellent author, of Livy, the purport of which was this, that by pushing our ideas of political reformation too far, we forfeit the merit of patriotism, we inflict on others the injustice we complain of ourselves. *Servitutem nobis repulsam aliis injungimus, tanquam aut facere aut pati injuriam sit necesse.*

Mr. Grattan declared himself decidedly the friend of a parliamentary reform. It has always been, said he, my favourite object to increase by this means the power of the people. I am glad to investigate this subject, let it come from what quarter it may; nor does its coming as it does, seem to me a questionable shape; neither do I see any thing to justify an opposition to my favourite scheme. I love to blend the idea of parliament and volunteers; they have hitherto concurred in establishing our constitution in the last parliament, and I hope they will do it in the present. I recommend, therefore, an union between parliament and the illustrious body of volunteers, which union it shall be the study of my life to preserve.

The *Provost* said, that he represented a great and independent city, in which there were 10,000 inhabitants, and that he therefore thought his sentiments deserved attention on a subject of this nature; that he was not interested to take a part against the present question, having no influence in any borough in the kingdom, nor any connection with any man who had; that if boroughs were opened, his influence must increase from the natural weight of the property which he possessed: He desired to remove out of the debate, a matter totally foreign from it, which had been improperly introduced; he meant the additional appointments proposed to be given to the Lord Lieutenant and his principal Secretary, that the proposition had not originated with administration, and had not been supported by it; that his Excellency had given the most decided and explicit negative, and that it was well known, that he had not attended the House

when the subject was discussed, and had disdained to take any part in it either in public or private.

He then adverted to the question, and said that no man had a higher respect for the volunteers than himself. That they had been justly called the saviours of their country. That he was very sensible that in the convention there were many gentlemen of the highest honour, the purest principles, and actuated by the most ardent wishes for the liberties of their country. He was ready to suppose that all the delegates had acted with the best intentions; but the question of this night was whether their ardour had not, on the present subject, carried them so far as to infringe the privileges of that House. That leave had been given in the last session, to bring in such a bill as was now desired. He had concurred in that measure, but the convention had taken this out of the hands of the House of Commons, had appointed a committee of their own to consider the subject, had prepared a bill; and had ordered three members of that House to bring it in; and that leave was now desired to bring in that identical bill, that this fact had been affirmed on one side of the House, and not having being denied on the other, must now be taken for granted. He said, the parliamentary mode of proceeding on great subjects, was to appoint a committee to enquire into them, and to report their opinions to the House, and on their report, to direct a bill to be prepared. That this was the mode adopted in a neighbouring kingdom on this very subject, where the Right Hon. Mover proposed two resolutions; the first importing, that a reform in the representation of the people was necessary, the second, containing his plan of reform. He was told that it was not candid to prepare the first, until the second was agreed to, nor wise to make the people dissatisfied with their present constitution, till he was sure of giving them a better in its place. His candor yielded to this reasoning. He failed in his second proposition, which he has since abandoned, and never brought forward his first. But in this kingdom, another body of men, respectable indeed, but unknown to the constitution, have ordered the committee, framed the bill, and directed three of our members to bring it in. If this is allowed, other men are to exercise our functions, to deliberate, and to prepare measures for us; and it will be only left to us to carry their purposes into execution. That this conduct ought to be more closely investigated, because it came from an armed body of men, who had sat for the last three weeks in our capital, and had proceeded with all the forms of parliament, and here called the grand convention, while the great convention of the nation was now sitting. That if such proceedings had been ever before attempted in any age or country, he called upon the gentlemen on the other side to produce the instance; and if they did, would undertake to shew

that such proceedings had overturned the liberties of the country, where they had been allowed. He said, conventions had been held in England, but that it never was done, but in instances where a parliament could not be convened. He said, wherever men in arms had interfered with the proceedings of parliament, the certain consequence was, the subversion of liberty. He mentioned, as one proof of a thousand, that the parliamentary army in the time of Charles I. which had delivered their country from tyranny, did afterwards, by interfering with the business of the House, destroy the liberties which they had established, and after turning the House of Commons out of doors, introduced anarchy, and afterwards the instrument in restoring the old government, without simulation or restraint, and by their wild conduct the liberties of England would have been lost, if they had not been restored by the Revolution. He requested that gentlemen would weigh every part of this great historical fact, and compare it with their late and present situation, and reflect on the consequences of allowing armed men to interfere in their business. He desired them to remember that excellent law among the Romans, which forbid any citizen to enter Rome in arms, and that the transgression of that law had overturned the liberties of Rome. He acknowledged that the armed spirit of the people had given such vigour and efficacy to the last parliament, as to enable it to restore the liberties of Ireland; but the distinction lay here, where the rights of a nation had been invaded, associations of armed men were necessary to restore them; but these rights were now declared, acknowledged and secured, and if armed associations interfered with parliament in settling the speculative points of the constitution, there was an end of liberty. For these reasons, he said, he should give his vote against bringing in the bill, though hereafter he should be for entering into the subject of more equal representation, and going to the bottom of it. He said, this was not a mere question of administration; that the nation called upon government to support the constitution, and the privileges of parliament as an essential part of it.

He then adverted to the bill itself, and said, that as the gentlemen who desired to bring it in, had mentioned the import as reasons for having leave to bring it in, he should take notice of the different parts, to shew that leave ought to be refused. He said, as to a general registry of freeholders, he agreed in opinion; but that a bill had been already brought in for that purpose. That as to triennial parliaments, he was decidedly against them, because the septennial bill in England had established the Hanover family on the throne, because the octennial bill had restored the liberties of Ireland, and because a shorter limitation would ruin the trade and manufactures, and destroy the morals of our people. He was against giving votes to lessees for years, because it would

be a departure from a material part of the constitution; and that he was against the extending the franchises of small towns to leaseholders, because it would infringe on the rights of men who acquired their titles by birth and servitude, by being themselves merchants and manufacturers, or by being descended from those who are so, and because extending those franchises to freeholders would increase the aristocratic weight. But to shew gentlemen that he was a real friend to the reform, he would tell them what he was ready to agree to: That all 40s. freeholders should be abolished, and all freeholders should be registered; that the infamous mode of buckaneering should be prevented, and every candidate for any contested place to be sworn at the hustings, that he would not suffer it; that he would not bribe, &c. and that he should swear at taking his seat, that he had not done so; that all bye-laws limiting the franchises of freemen, or giving the power of admission to one part of a corporation should be abolished, and that a committee of election should, on every trial, be required by law to have the charters laid before them, and to determine according to the spirit and intention of those charters, any bye-law, act of parliament, custom, usage, or length of time, to the contrary notwithstanding; that by these means, in making only alteration in the system of election-laws, which he affirmed to be a very bad system, you will emancipate most of the boroughs in the kingdom.

He then returned to the question, and recommended it to gentlemen to be cautious in taking any part to disunite the people of the kingdom. By disunion we had been oppressed. He spoke from knowledge, that some of the bills for the relief of our Roman Catholic brethren, had not been returned from England on the policy of *divide & impera*—that he laboured to overturn the popery-laws, because they had overturned the public liberty; that he had been, in every place, one of the foremost advocates for the dissenters, because they were at all times the firm assertors of liberty. By the union of men of all descriptions, Ireland is free. By disunion, she may cease to be so.

He was happy to find that every man, on both sides of the House, had spoken of the volunteers with the highest respect, and that some of the warmest advocates for the bill declared, that they would not consider the bill as proceeding from the convention, as it is called, and the movers would not acknowledge that it had proceeded from that body. He therefore thought it should be considered as the unanimous resolution of the House, that their interposition was improper. He hoped these gentlemen, after having conferred with their friends, and communicated their sentiments, would return to their habitations, and leave this great measure in the hands of the representatives of the people with

whom it originated, and who will, doubtless, give it the fullest consideration.

Major *Doyle* said, he wished the bill to be received that it might be fairly rejected, for he thought it inconsistent with the good of the nation, and incompetent to its purposes.

[The question was now loudly called for, it being near three o'clock in the morning of Sunday, when the Speaker rising to put it]

Mr. *Flood* said—I have often found when a question cannot be controverted by fair argument, it is thrown out by a majority calling for the question, but it is impossible for the mind of man to bend to mere matter, or to be satisfied with such conduct. I am asked, is not this bill the order of some other assembly? I never received any order. I have examined with men of all ranks upon this subject, and all approve it; but what appearance of hostility or controul is there in the present application? Have the volunteers lined the streets, or drawn up before your house? No, they have given their opinion with all humbleness and deference to yours, and beg you will take it up. How could they more prostrate themselves at the feet of parliament? This bill was moved a year ago, when there was no convention sitting; and will you now reject it, because men who sometimes wear swords, and sometimes wear none, approve it? The volunteers of Ireland are a peculiar body of men, they are citizens as well as soldiers; nor does their skill and discipline, as soldiers, destroy their franchise as citizens.

Mr. *Daly*—I confess I am ashamed that the gentleman who made this motion should not only evade giving an answer to the enquiry—"Whether it was the result of deliberations in the convention?" but almost to deny it.

Mr. *Flood*—I said, they were my own sentiments.

Mr. *Daly*—I did not say they were not his own sentiments; but I say, they are more notoriously the sentiments of the convention, whatever influence he might have had in forming them; and I say, that he brings them here by order of that body—and I say, that while an armed assembly is sitting in the capital, your debate is not free. He says, it is impossible for the mind of man to bend to mere majorities [Mr. Flood] I say to mere matter. We are told of the great moderation manifested by the delegates, considering how powerfully they are supported; but as I did not oppose or scorn the volunteers, when weak, as I never went to a county meeting, and with a contumelious aspect, asked if the county was arrayed, and he answered, no; never turned my back upon them; neither will I now, when they are strong and mighty, turn my back to them; but I will meet them as a friend, and will say to them—You are advancing to anarchy and destruction, I beseech you retreat while you may with honour,

for there is a turbulent demagogue amongst you, that urges you to your own disgrace.

It has been the misfortune of this country, that parliament has, in too many instances, for a while withstood the wishes of the people, but has yielded in the end; the consequence is, that the people are told by the demagogue—persevere, and you will at last carry your point.—But this is the time to draw a line, and I do rely upon it—I pledge myself for the consequence, that if parliament act with firmness, the people will be content; in a short time they will despise the promoters of faction; and all their boasted menaces will vanish in the air.—But if parliament recedes one step now, will fall into a gulph of inevitable destruction.

I am sorry to have detained the House so long at this hour, I would not have done it, but to request gentlemen will not go away, as motions of great importance will be made as soon as this is disposed of.

[The motions to which Mr. Daly alluded, were the resolution proposed by the Attorney General, and the address by Mr. Conolly.]

Upon a division, there appeared

For receiving the bill,	—	49
Against it	—	158

After the motion was decided, Mr. *Attorney General* moved the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is now become necessary to declare, that this House will maintain its just rights and privileges against all encroachments whatsoever.

Ayes,	—	150
Noes,	—	68

Mr. *Thomas Conolly* then made the following motion, which was carried unanimously:

Resolved, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to declare the perfect satisfaction which we feel in the many blessings we enjoy under his Majesty's most auspicious government, and our present happy constitution; and that at this time we find it peculiarly incumbent upon us to express our determined resolution to support the same—with our lives and fortunes.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1783.

Three money bills returned from the Lords, with their concurrence.

Ordered, that they be brought to the Lord Lieutenant, to be certified to Great-Britain.

A petition of the working worsted weavers of the town and neighbourhood of Roscrea, in behalf of themselves and their very numerous brethren throughout the kingdom of Ireland, was presented to the House and read, setting forth their distresses, arising from the large importations of foreign goods, and the unlimited exportation of the raw material, and that protecting duties would be the only means effectually to extend and improve the manufactures of Ireland, and submitting the premises to the consideration of the House.

Ordered, That the said petition be referred to the committee appointed to enquire into the state of the manufactures of this kingdom, and what may be found necessary for the improvement thereof, and also into the quantity and value of the exports and imports of Ireland.

The Right Honourable *John Foster* presented to the House, according to order, a bill for regulating and extending the tobacco trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned; which was received and read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow morning.

Colonel *Ross* presented a petition of the inhabitants of Newry, setting forth, that the exorbitant prices obtained by the farmers last year have enabled them to keep up their produce for a high market, to counteract which petitioners conceive it necessary to permit the importation of foreign grain, and that if the prices, bounties and duties were in this kingdom regulated by the hundred weight, it were better than referring to the measures of another kingdom, which are never used, and but little known in this country; and that the bounties and duties on oat-meal and oats should be regulated rather by the prices of the former than of the latter.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1783.

The names of the members were called over, and a committee chosen to try the merits of a petition, complaining of an undue election and return for the county of Cork, when the following gentlemen were chosen :

Mr. Warburton,
Mr. Bourke,
Mr. Usher,
Mr. Creighton,
Mr. Montgomery,
Mr. Jackson,
Mr. Hardy,

Mr. Bayly,
Hon. Mr. Taylor,
Mr. Langrishe,
Mr. King,
Sir Michael Cromie,
Right Hon. Denis Daly,
Right Hon. Thomas Cox.

Sir *Fitzgerald Aylmer* complained of a breach of privilege committed by Mr. Jennings and John Muckleroy. They attended, and were called to the bar and examined, and ordered to attend to-morrow.

A message from the Lords by Mr. Justice Robinson and Mr. Justice Henn, that the Lords have agreed to an engrossed bill, sent up by this House, intituled, an act for regulating the sugar trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned, without any amendment; which bill the messengers delivered at the table with their message.

A message from the Lords by Mr. Justice Robinson and Mr. Justice Henn, that the Lords have agreed to an engrossed bill, sent up by this House, intituled, an act to promote the linen and hempen manufacture, by encreasing the supply of Irish flax-seed, and encouraging the export of linens and sail cloth, and for other purposes therein mentioned, without any amendment; which bill the messengers delivered at the table with their message.

A message from the Lords by Mr. Walker and Mr. Vesey, two of the masters in chancery, that the Lords have agreed to the address to his Majesty, sent up by this House, and filled up the blank, by inserting the words "Lords spiritual and temporal," and have resolved to attend his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant with the said address, with the whole House; and having sent to know his Excellency's pleasure when he will be attended with the said address, his Excellency hath returned an answer, in which he hath appointed Wednesday the 3d day of December, at four of the clock, to be attended with the address at the castle, and that the Lords intend to be there at that time.

And then the messengers withdrew.

Resolved, That this House, with their Speaker, will meet the Lords at the castle, at four of the clock, with the address of both Houses to his Majesty.

Ordered, That the Speaker of this House do write a letter to the Lords Commissioners of the great seal of Great Britain, requesting that their Lordships will be pleased to make an humble application to his Majesty, desiring that one printed copy of the records of parliament, and also of the other valuable papers lately published by the House of Lords, may be delivered to Thomas Ellis, Esq; Clerk of the House of Commons, and deposited in the parliament-office for the use of the House of Commons.

A motion was made, and the question being put, that the number of members who have not served on select committees in this session is insufficient to fulfil the purposes of the act, intituled An act to regulate the trials of controverted elections or returns of members to serve in parliament, respecting the choice of select committees—it was carried in the affirmative.

Lord *Kilwarlin* moved, that a committee of the whole House be appointed, to take into consideration the petition of the Grand Canal Company.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* said—The petition was to enable that company, to open a communication from the Grand Canal to the Shannon. He said, in the prosecution of their intended work they had a precipice to go down, and a hill to cut through. He said, he should oppose the appointing of a committee on this petition.

Lord *Kilwarlin* withdrew his motion.

A petition of the small-beer brewers of the city of Dublin was received, and referred to a committee.

Lord *Devin* presented to the House, according to order, a bill for vesting certain lands and premises therein mentioned, part of the estate of the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Louth, in trustees, for raising a sum, not exceeding 60,000*l.* by sale or mortgage of a competent part thereof, to be applied to the purposes therein mentioned; which was received and read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow morning.

Ordered, That the Right Honourable John Foster do attend his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant with an engrossed bill, intituled an act for regulating the sugar trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned, and desire that the same may be certified into Great Britain pursuant to the act for that purpose, and then returned to this House.

Ordered, That the Right Honourable John Foster do attend his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant with an engrossed bill, intituled an act to promote the linen and hempen manufacture, by encreasing the supply of Irish flax-seed, and encouraging the export of linens and sail cloth, and for other purposes therein mentioned, and desire that the same may be certified into Great Britain pursuant to the act for that purpose, and then returned to this House.

Lord *Devin*—I move that the several goalers in this kingdom do make returns of all such persons as are now confined in their respective prisons for debt.

The House, according to order, resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration a bill for facilitating the trade and intercourse between this kingdom and the United States of America; and after some time spent therein, Mr. Speaker resumed the chair, and the Right Honourable John Foster reported from the committee that they had gone through the said bill, and that he was directed to report when the House will please to receive the same.

Ordered, That the report be received to-morrow morning.

Mr. *Sheridan* presented to the House, according to order, a bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army, and their quarters within this kingdom; which was received and read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow morning.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1783.

The House, pursuant to order, proceeded in the usual form to nominate a committee for trying the Westmeath election.

The *Speaker* having acquainted the House that, pursuant to order, the address of the House to his Majesty, desired to know if, at their return, the House should sit or adjourn until to-morrow.

The *Attorney General*, Mr. *Fitzgibbon*, and the *Provoost* were for adjourning, on account, they said, of the late hour it would be to enter upon a very important business [Mr. *Molyneux's* motion of proposing an absentee tax in the committee of ways and means, to be opened this day pursuant to order] after their return from the castle.

Mr. *Foster* said, that there was a money bill and other business depending, and he wished the absentee affair disposed of as soon as possible; for that reason, therefore, he should vote against the adjournment.

Mr. *Pelham* was of the same opinion.

Mr. *Speaker* reported that the House had attended his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant with the address of both Houses of Parliament to his Majesty, and that thereupon his Excellency was pleased to return the answer following:

“The expressions of duty and loyalty to the king, and of inviolable attachment to the constitution, contained in this address, must have such salutary effects at this time, that I shall feel particular satisfaction in transmitting it to be laid before his Majesty.”

Ordered, That his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's answer be entered on the journals of this House.

Right Honourable *Denis Daly* moved to withdraw the petition complaining of an undue election for the county of Fermanagh.—Granted.

The titles of two petitions, one from the inhabitants of Belfast; and the other from the inhabitants of Downpatrick, were read, and ordered to lie on the table.

The *Attorney General* again besought the Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Molyneux) to postpone his promised motion until Friday, when there being no other business before the House it would have a full discussion.

Mr. *Molyneux* said, it was worthy of remark that gentlemen who lately pressed a most important question at three o'clock in the morning, now thought six in the evening too late an hour : The business, said he, I have to propose all gentlemen have sufficient notice of, and if they will not attend to it, it is not my fault. I have already twice postponed it at the desire of the House; it has gone abroad that I want to get rid of it, and it has indeed such an appearance; longer delaying it will be a stigma on the House. He therefore entreated the House to let the order of the day for entering into a committee of ways and means take place, that he might therefore make his motion.

The *Attorney General* persisting in his opposition, moved, that the order of the day for entering into a committee of ways and means be discharged.

The question being put, there appeared

Ayes,	—	—	—	—	64
Noes,	—	—	—	—	42

Majority for discharging the order of the day, 22

The *Attorney General* then moved, that the committee of ways and means sit on Friday next.—Ordered accordingly.

Mr. *Foster* gave notice, that, to-morrow, the House would sit in committee on the tobacco bill, in which some clauses of the last importance were to be introduced.

Mr. *Corry* said, he hoped there would; and asked if the act of navigation, which precluded the entry of American commodities from other countries than America, was to be of force or not?

No answer was given.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1783.

On a motion of Sir *Hercules Langrishe*, that John Jennings, who had been ordered into custody for having arrested a pair of coach horses belonging to Sir Fitzgerald Aylmer, Bart. be discharged, as he has given every satisfaction in his power to Sir Fitzgerald Aylmer; he was discharged accordingly.

• Went into a committee of the whole House on Lord Lowth's bill, Lord Delvin in the chair.

Went through the same, paragraph by paragraph.

Lord *Delvin* reported, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed.

Mr. *Foster* moved, that the committee of ways and means should be empowered to insert a clause in the tobacco bill, for bonding the duties. He observed, that as America promised to be a great mart of trade, and a very great communication he hoped would be between that country and this, and as the duties in England, on the importation of tobacco, are bonded, he thought it but proper, that the Irish merchant should be put on the same footing as the English merchant.

Sir *John Parnell* said, he did not approve of the intended clause: Bonding the duties was attended with many inconveniences, and a great risk was run on the part of the revenue, and there were near 30,000*l.* due by bonds, for the duties on tobacco. There could be no inconvenience to the merchant, he said, as a discount of 7 *per cent.* was allowed for prompt payment. He was for postponing the clause for three months.

Mr. *Hartley* observed, that in England, which is a wealthy country, bonds were permitted to be taken, and it would be hard that the same advantage should not be enjoyed by the merchants in Ireland—a country so very inferior to England in point of riches. He observed, that though a penny a pound (the duty that must be paid in cash on every pound of tobacco) might appear to be but a small matter, yet it would amount to 800*l.* in the cargo of a vessel of about 200 tons: and how distressing must it be, if the remaining eleven pence a pound was to be likewise paid for in ready money? But there was another reason why bonding the duties should be adopted: America will look on this country to be averse to entering into a cordial reciprocity of trade with her, if she sees greater advantages held out by England; and he said he was for establishing the precedent in the first instance, that it might operate abroad to our interest.

Mr. *Corry* said, that gentlemen had asserted, bonding the duties would be attended with great inconvenience and risk to the revenue; but it did not strike him in that light; are not regular accounts of the entries kept, and duplicates lodged in different offices? If you did not agree to bond the duties, the Irish merchant would be on a worse footing than the English merchant and how can you reconcile that to the emancipation of your trade, by which the trade of both countries should be put on an equal footing? And sure the advantage of the Irish merchant should be regarded and well attended to. If you refuse to bond the duties, America will look on this measure in an inimical view, and will not hesitate to declare that there is a disinclination in the part of Ireland, to trade with America. You will preclude many great advantages; for in a little time, Ireland would become the store-house for the tobacco from America.

Sir *John Parnell* said, the Irish merchant was already on a better footing than the English merchant; as the duty on tobacco

was one-fourth less than in England; it being 16*d.* a pound duty here. He declared himself a warm friend to the merchants of this kingdom, and he was firmly of opinion, that the interest of the revenue, and the interest of the merchants were inseparable.

Mr. *Foster* supported the clause. No objection was made to it on any other principle than inconvenience, but was there no office to record these bonds in, and was there no compelling the collectors to account for the bonds?

The *Solicitor General* spoke to the same effect.

Sir *John Parnel* finding it to be the sense of the House that the clause should be inserted, said he would acquiesce.

Mr. *Monk Mason* begged it might not be understood, that the sum of 30,000*l.* was due by collectors on account of tobacco; there are only bonds in their hands to that amount, and there was an allowance of 7 per cent. to the merchant for prompt payment.

Mr. *Holmes*, after describing the lamentable situation of the prisons in this country, moved that an address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, requesting he would be pleased to order the judges of assize to report the state of the different prisons.—Agreed to.

Mr. *David Latouche* moved for leave to bring in a bill that all monies, securities, &c. now in the hands of the officers belonging to the different courts, be lodged in the national bank, and for making compensation to such officers as may be affected thereby.

Committee of the whole House, on the tobacco bill, Mr. *Foster* in the chair.

Mr. *Hartley* said, a doubt had arisen with many gentlemen that the navigation act did not affect this kingdom; and if Great Britain is allowed to export her superfluous tobacco to this kingdom, it would be very hard that the same privilege should not be enjoyed by Ireland.

Mr. *Mason* said, there was no doubt but the navigation act was in force here.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1783.

Committee of trade sat, Mr. *Gardiner* in the chair, examined Mr. *Ball* of Werburgh-street, respecting the ribbon manufacture of Ireland.

The Speaker having taken the chair, the defaulters were discharged out of custody.

The order of the day was read for receiving the report of the committee on the tobacco bill.

The *Speaker* was then proceeding to repeat the amendments entered into by the committee, and to put the question that the House do agree to the same, when

Mr *Corry* rose—he said the present bill was an object of the first magnitude; he only begged leave to ask a question of the Right Honourable Gentleman who had brought it forward—He asked for information. It was imagined by some gentlemen, that the navigation act was not in force in this kingdom; he wished therefore to know, whether this bill was to give a power to England to send tobacco into this kingdom, which she, under the construction of that, would not receive from us.

Mr. *Foster* replied, that when the present bill was first introduced, an Honourable and Respectable Member (the representative for this city) had started an objection, there had been also a petition from the Chamber of Commerce; they apprehend that this bill was giving a power to England to send tobacco into this kingdom, though she denied us the like privilege of exporting our tobacco into her ports; and gentlemen would remember, that in order to obviate that difficulty, he had proposed a clause that should perfectly explain it, which was provided, nevertheless that nothing herein contained should be considered as authorising the importation of tobacco, otherwise than as it was now authorised by law. The Honourable Gentleman did not chuse to have this amendment inserted, and he must refer to that gentleman for the answer to the question which had been put by his Honourable Friend.

Mr. *Hartley* said, that under the construction of the navigation act, Great Britain had refused to receive tobacco from this kingdom, though we continued to take it from her: The consequence was, she found a market for her redundancy, while we, when we had an overplus, had no place to send ours into. This was highly injurious to the Irish merchant. He thought, as Great Britain was mentioned in the bill, it was giving, by implication, a right to Great Britain to send tobacco into this country, while she refused a similar indulgence, than which nothing could be more unfair, or militate more against the idea of equality. It is true he did not agree with the amendment proposed by the Right Honourable Gentleman, because many very respectable members were doubtful whether the navigation act was in force in this kingdom; but he had an amendment to propose, which, he believed, would answer, and that was this—provided nevertheless that nothing in this act contained should be construed to allow the importation of any tobacco from Great Britain, other than she allows from Ireland—This was perfectly fair; he was not much used to drawing up parliamentary resolutions; he

would not therefore insist upon the particular mode of wording it, but that was the sense it ought to pursue.

Mr. *Huffey* entered largely into the navigation act; he considered it as a matter of little importance whether it was law in this kingdom or not; it was designed to give every advantage to England, Ireland, Wales and Berwick upon Tweed. By some mischance in the renewal of that act, Ireland was not particularly named, but the obvious meaning of the law was to give an advantage to these kingdoms in the trade of the British colonies. Ireland, at the time this act was made, was by no means considered as an alien kingdom, though now she was looked upon as such by Great Britain, and upon that ground, the tobacco of these ports were not received in hers. He objected to the amendment formerly proposed by the Right Honourable Gentleman, because it was making the revenue officer the judge of what was law, and what was not; it was leaving him to decide whether we ought to take tobacco from England by a construction of the law, though that kingdom, upon a construction of the same law, refused to receive it from us, and looked upon us as an alien kingdom; he would therefore agree to the amendment of his Honourable Friend.—Mr. *Huffey* displayed much legal knowledge, and we have only to lament that he spoke so extremely low, it was impossible for us to give an accurate recital of his argument, which would have done him much honour, and given us the greatest satisfaction; the above is, however, the substance of what we could hear.

Mr. *Corry* said, the bill was of greater consequence than gentlemen perhaps at first sight imagined. It appeared at first view as if it was a question relative to the interest of the tobacco merchant alone; as such, it was of weight, but if that House should imagine it was confined to that simple point, they were much mistaken. No, it involved in it the fundamental system of our trade; it was to establish whether Ireland should take advantage of her geographical situation—whether Ireland should become the emporium of the world—considered as such, it was a question of the first magnitude. He was conscious of the little knowledge he had in matters of trade, he knew his inabilities; he was not even accustomed to take as much share in their debates, and therefore not as well used to speak in public as he ought to be, from the length of time he had been in parliament, he therefore hoped the House would shew him some indulgence; and he would to God some of the Right Honourable Gentlemen on the treasury bench would see it in the light that he beheld it in. He had not consequence sufficient in that House, and he knew sometimes a degree of consequence was necessary; he had not therefore proposed any amendment, he had only asked a question of the Right Honourable Gentleman who had

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introduced the bill, to that question the gentleman had given no answer, but had referred him to another; he could see that if the bill passed thus, the revenue officer of England would, under an interpretation of the navigation act, refuse to receive the same commodities from this kingdom, which this kingdom under the construction of the same act, permitted to be imported here from Great Britain. This was to convert the channel of trade to England; though when our western situation was considered, when the advantage of our insurance, freightage, and almost every other naval benefit was so much more in favour of this country, infinitely superior to what England enjoys, there cannot be a doubt but that this country will, in time, be the emporium of the world, if you are likewise to take care to form, at the beginning, a proper system.

Mr. *Foster* said, he allowed the question the gentleman alluded to, which was, if he understood right, whether Ireland should receive commodities from England of the growth of Asia, Africa and America, though England refused to receive those commodities from us; if that was the question, he acknowledged with the Honourable Member, it was indeed one of the first magnitude, but he did not think that question was now before the House; that would come on possibly by itself, but no bill ever was more grossly misunderstood than the present. He had already declared a decided opinion, that it was unfair in England to refuse those commodities from us, and whenever that question came before the House, as far as his poor voice would go, he would strenuously support the rights of Ireland. Did gentlemen then imagine, that after having made such a declaration, he would introduce a bill which should militate against it. Would gentlemen have faith for once—would they do him the justice to believe his assertion—had the Honourable Member who objected to the bill, read that bill?—[Here he paused and received no answer.] The Honourable Member has not then read the bill; he is arguing upon a matter which he has not made himself acquainted with. If it is imagined that there is any thing in this bill, which can by implication be construed to do away the navigation act, I am ready to make the amendment formerly proposed; I think it much better than that mentioned by the Honourable and Respectable Representative for the city of Dublin, and for this reason, because it will then leave the main question just in its present state. But what will his do? totally destroy the very principle he wants to establish; by making one exception, you allow the right of importing every other article; besides, do gentlemen recollect, that the present bill is only to continue in force for fifteen months; and is the great system of our trade a matter to be introduced into a bill of such short duration? No, it should be in a bill that was to be permanent—that was to stand for ever the charter of our commerce.

Secretary Pelham thought it necessary to say a few words, lest should he be silent, it might be imagined he agreed with the Right Honourable Gentleman who spoke last;—he certainly did not agree with him—he did not take this to be a question whether the navigation act was to be construed the same way here as in Great Britain. It was merely whether this kingdom would suffer tobacco to be imported here from England, as has formerly been the case, or not? As to whether England will take tobacco from you, that must be determined in another place; this seems rather an hostile measure, and would be better left to the interference of ministers.

Mr. Fitzgibbon said, the amendment mentioned by the Honourable Gentleman, was nonsensical and absurd—it was to enact, that no tobacco should be received into this kingdom, but the very same which had been exported into England from this country; that was in fact saying, we will not import tobacco from England, which is not carried over there by some gentleman in his tobacco-box, and which, when he returns, he may possibly bring back. This was absurd, and downright nonsense.

Mr. Corry answered, that the gentleman had full liberty to call the amendment as he had mentioned it, nonsensical and absurd, because the nonsense was his own—it was not the amendment proposed by his Honourable Friend; had he looked into that, he would have found that the amendment was, that no tobacco should be imported from Great Britain into Ireland, other than such as may be exported from Ireland into Great Britain. A Right Honourable Gentleman had asked him, did he read the bill; to that he could answer, that while that Right Honourable Member, and other Right Honourable and Honourable Members went up to the castle with an address, which he wished had never been voted—which he thought ought not to have been carried, and which [Here he was called to order by *Mr. Foster*, as censuring the majority of the House of Commons, in saying an address, voted by them, ought never to have been voted nor carried.]

Mr. Foster was called to order by *Sir Henry Cavendish*, who said it was very wrong to put words in gentlemen's mouths, which they had not said, and then to call them to order. The Member had only said, he wished it had not been voted—he thought it ought not to be carried—This was perfectly in order.

Mr. Foster was happy, he had mistaken the words, and was sure the gentleman would, himself, be glad that he had called him to order, as others near him had mistaken him also.

Mr. Corry said, he had a right to deliver his opinion upon any measure, even though it had passed the House, otherwise how could he animadvert on the conduct of any minister; and he would animadvert on the conduct of ministers—he would probe them

inch by inch till he got to the bottom of their actions; and while the minister and others went up with the address, which he wished had never been voted, and which he thought ought not to have been carried, he employed himself in perusing that bill; and when gentlemen consider that these bills were hurried through the House when only four or five members were present, he believed they would allow he had got all the information time would permit him; but that gentlemen might be well informed, he would move for the further consideration of it to be postponed 'till Tuesday next, and if that was carried, he would move that the bill might be printed.

The *Attorney General* hoped it would not be put off for a moment—it was a money bill, and must be passed before the 25th of December; but he was sorry, when there was business of consequence going forward, to see empty benches, and when nothing was to be done, the House and galleries were crowded.

Mr. *Molyneux* said, he was to bring on his promised motion, relative to a tax on absentees, and he was sorry to hear the Right Honourable Gentleman call that business nothing; he thought it a matter of importance.

The *Attorney General* said, he thought it of the greatest importance to this country, that it should be speedily and universally reprobated.—(He was called to order by Mr. *Molyneux*.)

The question, for adjourning the consideration of the bill until Tuesday next, was then put, and negatived without a division.

Mr. *Molyneux* moved to postpone it till to-morrow, and on a division there appeared,

Ayes,	—	—	—	60
Noes,	—	—	—	119

Mr. *Hartley* then moved his amendment, which was negatived; after which the House agreed with the committee on the whole bill.

Mr. *Burgh* reported from the Leitrim committee, that the Right Honourable Theophilus Clements was not duly elected, and ought not to have been returned.—A writ for a new election was ordered.

Mr. *Molyneux* rose, and reminded the House, that consonant with their order of a former day, no other business was to precede the discussion of the motion he proposed submitting to the consideration of the House. He had, he complained, been forced much against his inclination, to postpone the business from day to day—it was a matter of too much magnitude to be thus frittered away. His character was committed on the occasion, and he

hoped it would not go abroad that the blame, in any respect, lay with him.

Mr. *Parsons* was, (though a friend to the principles of the bill) against the Speaker's leaving the chair, as he thought the time very improper for the discussion of such a subject.

Hon. *Wesley Pole* was a decided enemy to the principle itself—yet, as it had so often been deferred, and was of such national importance, he was for taking the sense of the House on it now. He was therefore for the Speaker's leaving the chair, though when the business would be brought forward, he was determined to vote against it.

The House having resolved itself into a committee, Mr. *Foster* in the chair,

Mr. *Molyneux*.—I rise to introduce a question of the utmost importance to this kingdom. This I have communicated to some gentlemen, who then expressed their warmest approbation of this measure. Before the business stood in need of their assistance, they were liberal in their promises of support—now that it craves their aid, they refuse it—they say the time is improper. I would not have been so urgent with this business, had I imagined the committee of ways and means would have continued so long open. The bill I intend to have the honour to submit to this House, tends to remove a grievance long and justly a matter of complaint. The noblemen and gentlemen, possessing large estates in this kingdom, but who spend their incomes in another, cannot be said to contribute, in proportion to the property they possess, to the support of the state—You have it to chuse whether a general land-tax shall be adopted, equally affecting the innocent and guilty, or whether you will tax absentees only. In all governments it is, and ever was a maxim, to pay a part for the security afforded to the remainder of men's properties. The absentees do not contribute their just proportion.—Allegiance and protection were always reciprocal, notwithstanding the modes of exercising it may have differed. Feudal services were first the equivalent of protection, and certain lands annexed to the kingly office. As the far greater part of the crown lands are alienated, and nothing of the feudal system remaining, save the name, it is found necessary to have recourse to general taxation for the support of the executive power; in the imposition of which, the ease of and advantages of the community should ever be the land-marks—the charts to steer by. That this bill answers these ends, in my mind, requires no demonstration. But before I proceed, permit me to obviate one objection, which to some seems a strong one, but in my opinion a mere phantom. Gentlemen, Sir, say, that an absentee tax would introduce a land-tax—A trifling objection deserves a trifling answer. I will therefore say, it would have that effect as much as a tax on soap, or any other commo-

dity.—Another objection, and in my mind a much more forcible objection, is, *it will lessen the value of lands*. This objection, were it well founded, would be unanswerable: but, Sir, it will have no such effect; on the contrary, by compelling the residence of gentlemen of landed property, who now expend large sums of money, extracted from the vitals of this exhausted country, in foreign parts, the circulation of money will give such life and vigour to agriculture and manufactures, as will not fail to raise the rents. And surely it will not be affirmed that estates will not sell in proportion as they may set. In England there is a general land-tax, and yet we find very few instances of people who do not chuse purchasing there in preference to this kingdom.—The money that absentees spend in foreign parts, if circulated here would animate your manufactures. But is England the market for Irish estates?—No. This law is equitable.—It is equitable and consonant with every principle of justice, that absentees should pay the state for the protection it affords those funds—whence we have known some of them, by every kind of oppression, draw the hundred thousands they spend in foreign countries.—The honour of our country requires this measure at our hands. The infancy of our commerce demands it, and natural justice requires it. Let us do something to induce absentees to come among us.—Let us not, as we have already banished the poor, now banish the rich. But it has been said, that this tax will strike at liberty: shall we condemn a poor thief who robs another of a single shilling, and suffer the plunderer of his country to escape with impunity? Formerly an objection might be drawn against this tax, from the slavery of this country; but thanks to the spirit of the people, thanks to the armed patriots of the land, this slavery no longer exists—Let this alteration in our circumstances beget an alteration in our measures. Let us impose this tax—it is equitable, and will be found salutary; but as all the expences of the year are already provided for, let this tax be appropriated to the payment of your national debt, or substituted in lieu of some other that leans oppressive on the poor, and ought to be on that account taken off. I therefore most humbly move the committee may come to the following resolution: “That it is the opinion of this committee, that a tax of 4s. in the pound, to be deducted from all sums remitted to persons having estates in this kingdom, and not residing therein six months in each year, would be highly advantageous to the kingdom, provided that the same shall not affect mortgages or judgment debts.

Mr. *Marcus Beresford* said, he would not revert to any period of the feudal system, nor trace the progress of original society, but speak to the argument on the ground it stood. They were told that the poor were racked and oppressed by the agents of absentees; and to soften these absentees into benevolence, they

were to be heavily taxed. But surely, if men could be allowed to reason from natural consequences, this mode would have the very contrary effect, as the poor would be thereby doubly oppressed, to reimburse the loss occasioned by this taxation. The Honourable Mover of the measure, asserts, "that you have it to chuse, whether a general land-tax shall be adopted, equally affecting the innocent and guilty, or whether you impose a tax on absentees only."—Could his opinion, he said; have any weight it should be to decide, that neither of those taxes were necessary. The supplies were already granted, and when administration demanded no more money, it was a wantonness to force it on them.—Another principal argument had been advanced in its favour, which was its operating to compel the residence of absentees.—Some indeed, it might operate upon, in that sense, but there was a wide difference between inducement and coercion. Were absentees to be induced to residence, or affection for the soil, by forming conventions, by raising discontents, by treating the legislature with insult and indignity, and by attempting to alter the constitution?—The general conduct of those gentlemen, distinguished by the name of opposition, could not incline absentees to this national preference, when such a picture of ruin was held out through the national debt, and a land-tax proposed at the same moment. Beside the jealousy that tax would occasion, it would evidently have a ruinous effect, in lessening the value of land, and being oppressive to those whom necessity of occasion, want of health, the study of the law, or other contingent circumstances might call to England; nor would it fail to be cruelly oppressive to those tenants who by leases were bound to pay all taxes.—For these, and other numerous reasons, he would vote against the tax.

Sir *John Blaquiere*.—I am the decided friend of this tax—I have ever been so, as I think it would be highly advantageous to this country—but was I an enemy that wished to overturn it, I would take the very means the Honourable Gentleman has done; I would have waited till an Honourable Member of great ability, who was pledged to support the tax, and whose powerful eloquence had been exerted in its favour, had left the country; I would have waited till all the supplies were granted, and till ministers had no apology to lay on new burdens—till I should be sure it would meet a negative in England. I would have deferred it to a time when the protecting duties, on which the future welfare of this country depends, were to be brought before parliament, and then to four the minds of men resident in another country, I would bring in *this* bill and destroy both; and if I was an enemy to the bill, I would propose it in the words of the Honourable Gentleman, though a simple proposition would have been more effectual—but I am a friend to the prin-

ciple of the Honourable Gentleman's motion, and I lament that this day will be fatal to it. It comes before the committee with inauspicious omen; it has been twice deferred—first, because the Honourable Mover was not ready—then because his powerful friend had been fatigued at the Rotunda—and now, I suppose it comes on because he is gone to England. Yet such is my predilection for it, that even under these inauspicious omens I will vote for it; but first I must intreat leave to state to the House what happened when it was formerly agitated.

When I had the honour to be a minister here, I considered this tax as the favourite with of the people; I thought it would be useful to the country, and indeed I never had heard a syllable uttered against it. Being therefore desirous to gratify the people in what would serve the country, I went over to England to solicit this as a boon from his Majesty's ministers; I made repeated applications; I urged my suit with an indecent warmth, and perhaps with an unbecoming importunity; and it was at last conceded as the ultimatum, that it would be granted to Ireland. I returned full of joy to propose it; but when it had the misfortune to appear before the House as a measure of ministers, the very gentlemen who before approved it, and who, I may say, sent me to solicit it, turned their backs upon it. Much danger was surmised—many arguments were found out: it was said, there was a snake in the grass, and I divided in a minority; for we were beat by 14. The next day an Honourable Gentleman proposed a reconsideration of it, I suppose because he had not on a former day displayed the sum total of his abilities—but we were again defeated. I can pledge myself that had there not been a majority of 14, the minister of that day would have given the tax, though it would have overset his administration. As to the assertion that the tax is not practicable, it is unfounded; you had the opinion of the then Attorney General, and some of the ablest men of that day—that it was practicable, and with great facility.

I will vote for it now, though I think it is brought forward at an improper time: you have, as I mentioned before, important business to come on, and it would not be wise to set against you many of your friends, who reside in England, nor is the state of Ireland now what it was when this tax was proposed.—You were then shackled, and it was right of you to shake your chains—but now you are free, and have it in your power to be great and happy.

Mr. Ogle.—I opposed this tax in 1773, and I now oppose it on the same principle. If I was right then, I now stand on much stronger ground. Our situation is much changed since that time; it might then, in some degree, have operated as a non importation has done, and compelled England to acknowledge our rights,

but that necessity is now done away, by the concessions that have been made, and at this day it would be but a wanton act of hostility, if it was to have been the ultimatum of Ireland's demands. —I am glad it did not pass—but who could presume to pledge himself that Ireland would not have demanded more; there was then a rising spirit in the nation, which has encreased ever since, and with it have encreased the nation's acquisitions.

I am satisfied of the goodness of the gentleman's intentions who has introduced this tax. I own it is a popular subject, and at a hasty view, might charm him—but I would rather see his talents applied to devise plans for making the proper advantage of our present situation, than to embrace remedies which were thought ineffectual to relieve us when our state was very different.

Sir, I always opposed this tax on the principle of natural liberty, I thought it would be a badge of slavery to restrain men from fixing their habitations where convenience or inclination pointed. In despotic countries, one of the greatest grievances the people complain of is, being obliged to ask the sovereign's leave to go abroad—yet it is proposed in a free state, to sanctify by law, one of the greatest evils complained of in despotic governments.

The writ *ne exeat regnum* is never issued but in cases of high treason; if this law passes, it is issued to every man in the realm. I know indeed, 'tis said, that a man may remove his person, leaving his property behind him, but it is indifferent to me whether I am detained by poverty or by chains.

If this law was to pass, it would be a breach of public faith, and the highest injustice to foreigners, who have purchased estates in this country, it would be to them a law *ex post facto* reducing the value of their purchase.

Mr. Robert Jephson.—I have not presumption enough to think that I should be able at any time, to do justice to a subject so extensive and complicated as this is; but in my present state of health, I should not be able to do justice, even to myself; therefore I shall say very little.—I rise, because I remember perfectly the decision of a former parliament about ten years since upon this very measure, when it had every aid with which eloquence could furnish it; and the strong arguments which then prevailed against it, are fresh in my recollection. These seem to me to remain in their full force at this instant, with the addition of many fresh objections, which altered circumstances and a restored constitution, have since that time brought along with them.—But not to enter at large into arguments such as these, that it is a tax—that every tax, (especially while unappropriated) is in some measure, a fund for ministerial influence—that it is impolitic to be lavish without demand or necessity, of resources, which should be reserved for extraordinary emergencies—that this

is a partial tax upon the property of individuals, who not being paid like absentee placemen by the public, ought to be exempt from pecuniary mulcts by the representatives of the people—that it is a national breach of faith, and a fraud upon all the purchasers of estates in this kingdom hitherto, and a disturber of every settlement, and that it would in fact diminish the fee simple value of the realm exactly in proportion to the quantum of the tax—that it is a harbinger, a kind of pioneer, which goes before to level and prepare the way for the introduction of a general land-tax—not I say, to enter into any of these arguments, I object to the measure, because *prima facie* it appears to be an illiberal, a slavish and a disgraceful imposition; oppressive and unjust to those persons who are the objects of it, humiliating to the dignity of a great kingdom as this is, and utterly inconsonant to the tone and spirit of a free constitution. The place of a freeman's residence is one of those exercises of his will in which he ought never to be restrained. I should prefer the optional absence of any subject, as I would of a guest or a companion, to his reluctant and repining abode with me. This idea of compelling men to reside among us, by nibbling at their property, puts me in mind of the expedient of the owl, who bit off the feet of the mice she had caught, that they might not be able to escape and run away from her. But unfavourably as I think of this measure, and certain as I am, that the sense of the House will declare most powerfully against it, I think it would be less severe now, than if you had adopted it a little sooner. I mean, before parliament had pushed back from that bar an attempt to establish the most decisive and intolerable tyranny that ever threatened to subvert a free constitution. Had the attempt of last Saturday prevailed, you would have held your lives and properties like the slaves of Constantinople, at the capricious pleasure of your own Janissaries. If this seems to be going a little out of the way, I hope gentlemen will recollect that an Honourable Member on this very day, thought proper to reprehend the conduct of one of the most respectable majorities that was ever remembered in this House, and that I ought to expect at least equal indulgence when I vindicate the dignity of parliament. With respect to volunteers, I wish to be understood but as referring to a late transaction, in all things besides, no man reveres them more than I do.

I hope there are many better expedients than mulcts and penalties, and coercive resolutions, to keep men among us. Let a wise and public spirited government be supported as it ought to be. Discouragement and repel innovations, dangerous as they are fantastical, which of late have made the face of this kingdom a scene of tumult, confusion and uproar.

Let the most excellent and free constitution in the world be preserved in its purity. Let the laws have reverence, and the peo-

ple security. These are expedients better than coercion, and such will be the fruits of them.

Colonel *Hayes*—As the Right Hon. Gentleman on the upper bench has stated those objections to this tax which I would have done, though I cannot flatter myself I should have succeeded so well, I rise only to give my approbation of the conduct of several noble absentees, which has fallen under my own immediate observation; not to mention the two noble absentees of the north, whose expenditures on public works may be said almost to surpass belief. I should wish gentlemen to advert to the conduct of a right honourable baronet of the north of England, who came over to this kingdom—not for the purpose of encreasing his rent-roll—not by strict valuations to raise his rent on a miserable tenantry, as the honourable mover describes that of the absentees to be; no, it was expressly to lower his rents.

And here I should be guilty of injustice, if I did not state to this House the conduct of a late noble absentee, from that county I am particularly connected with:—When a foreign enemy hovered round our coasts, in the moment of an expected invasion, he sent 500*l.* towards arming and accoutering the Rockingham volunteers; this is a circumstance I am convinced will have weight with the honourable mover. His successor, Earl Fitzwilliam, has not had an opportunity of exercising his liberality in the same line; but he has not been unmindful of his country. When last summer's scarcity reduced the poor to a very wretched state indeed, his agents, by his orders, distributed provisions every market day; and this charity was not confined to the poor of his own estate, but those round it shared equally. And thus his example and timely assistance prevented, I may say, an actual famine.

If the debate was more serious, I could adduce several weighty arguments in opposition: Among the rest I should say, that foreigners never can be expected to venture their capital in a country where they have no permanent security: But as I have heard nothing yet in favour of the motion, I shall only now express my wish, that we may be as nearly unanimous as possible in dissenting from so destructive a measure.

Sir *Richard Musgrave*—The honourable mover of this resolution, though not deep in years, seems to me deep in scripture. He appears perfectly to comprehend that text, "Give, that it may be given unto thee again;" for this day he cries out against profusion, the next he adds to the enormous debt under which the nation totters, by loading the Chief Governor, against his will, with 4000*l.* a year additional duty. But the Hon. Gentleman, perhaps, wishes to lay a foundation for drawing the great abilities he possesses into exertion, to create an occasion of future declamations against the prodigality of corrupt ministers and corrupt

majorities. One day he inveighs against maintaining an army for the defence of this kingdom, against what he calls military extravagance; and the next is himself downright extravagant.— But there can be no harm in this kind of profusion; it is done in a civil way. This indeed is a strange kind of œconomy—a phenomenon of finance! But, it will be said, the tax is popular; if you do not vote for it your windows will be broke. I think the measure hurtful, and as I consider myself a free agent, will vote against it. I have many reasons for this conduct, which would be too tedious to enumerate here. I shall, therefore, only trouble the House, with saying, that the adoption of a measure of this kind would be a clog on purchases, that the value of lands must fall considerably, and the wealth of this country must diminish in the same proportion. Instead of throwing obstacles in their way, we ought at this time to allure Englishmen, by every fair and just method, to lay out their money among us.

Mr. Brooke—The imposition of such a tax, is contrary to every principle of the constitution—contrary to every principle of natural liberty. Can there be anything more unjust, than to lay such an embargo as this on any man? Any thing more unreasonable, than to prevent a gentleman, who may have cogent reasons for doing so, to live where it may suit him? His health may require it—his circumstances may absolutely demand it. It is a pitiful, it is a mean kind of finance to select any particular set of men as objects of partial taxation. It is abhorrent, from the honour—from the dignity—from the magnanimity of this free and independent country. When you were a nation of slaves, was not this and some other partialities exercised here against certain descriptions of men, the main arguments used against your liberations? You are groaning for liberty at home, and yet you deprive others of it.—If you wish we should be just to you, first set the example, by shewing you can be just to others.

Mr. Mason—Though I believe the honourable gentleman who moved this resolution to have been actuated by the purest principles, yet as it appears to me injurious to the interests of this nation, I will oppose it. This tax, if carried into execution, must be materially detrimental to the landed interest of the kingdom. It will lessen the value of land, and render mortgages insecure; for the purchaser or mortgager will make himself amends for the tax he is to pay, which must be severely felt by the seller or mortgagee. It is for these reasons, and not because it may be introductive of a land tax, or because it may encroach on the liberty of mankind, that I oppose it. By what methods the honourable gentleman is enabled to raise the value of lands, by taxing them, I know not; but this I know, when the public wants any great sum of money, it is not in this country it is sought, but the monied men in England are the people applied to, who

alone are able to furnish it. What monied man in England will lay out his property in this country, either in purchases or mortgages, if purchases and mortgages be insecure; which a tax of this kind, if carried into a law, would make them. Another very alarming circumstance will be the consequence of such a law. Every man who has money lent on mortgages, will foreclose them. At the same time that this will bring a great quantity of land to market, it will deter a great number of people, who otherwise would buy, from laying out their money on them, and lessen such a quantity of specie in the kingdom as will disable many more. But for a moment let us suppose monied men among us, the interference of parliament, with private property, will deter them from purchasing when it is uncertain how soon an act of the legislature may deprive them of a great part of the profits arising from their acquisitions; for though a gentleman may have determined never to become an absentee himself, he does not know but his son may hereafter be one; he will therefore, when he purchases an estate, make himself an allowance for the contingency of such an event. If you pass this law, lands will fall from 19 to 15 years purchase, which will be a loss of 10,000,000*l.* to the nation. In Lord Harcourt's administration, the very proposal of this tax materially injured this country. I fear it will have the same effect at this time, if we do not take particular care it shall not. It would, in my opinion, be more wise to pledge the faith of parliament, that no such measure will be carried into execution.

Mr. *St. George* moved that 2*s.* be substituted in place of 4*s.*

Mr. *Pole*—Formerly the Irish absentees fled this country, because it was not free—because no generous spirit would bear to live among a nation of slaves. As this country is now independent, and you are like to become a great people, many of those gentlemen will return and reside among you; but let them have the merit of acting from inclination, and not from compulsion. Some of the absentees have the greater part of their property in England. Would it not be the highest injustice to tax them for residing where they have the greater stake? Is it not injurious to tax the landlord, and not the tenant who derives under him, and perhaps draws three times his income out of the lands? No provision is here made in favour of officers, who are daily enduring hardships, and risking their lives in the service of their country. No provision in favour of those truly noble members of the other House, who have so gloriously distinguished themselves through the course of the last war. You make them a grateful return truly for their services! A partial tax is a mighty handsome way of shewing your gratitude! Many gentlemen are obliged from the narrowness of their circumstances, to go abroad, many for recovery of their health.—Will you tax these?—Will you shew yourselves such enemies to natural liberty as to

compel people to reside among you, whether it is in their power or not ?

Mr. *Langrishe*—This tax will drive away many—will bring back none. Partial taxation I was always inimical to ; if there be one, let it be general. This is a step towards a land tax : If there be any such in contemplation, why do not gentlemen speak out ? I will give it my hearty negative, as I conceive it will very much diminish the property of this country. It favours too much of American oppression to gain my approbation. Every tax should be equally imposed. To tax one part of the community, without laying any share on the remainder, is neither fair, honourable, nor just.

Mr. *Westby*—I will now vote, as I have done formerly, against this tax. I conceive it will very materially injure the landed interest.

Sir *Fred. Flood*—As I have heard nothing like argument in favour of the motion I will give it my decided negative. But before I come to defend a much valued friend of mine, who has been unjustly alluded to, permit me to state my reasons for the vote I mean to give ; this measure is now unseasonable, for you have already voted the supplies ; your committee of ways and means has sat, and will you give them more money than they require ? The current expences of the year have been already provided for, and will you fall into the absurdity of imposing extraordinary taxation, without specifying any one purpose to which it may be appropriated ? This tax will ruin your credit, and lean hard on your landed property. What man will lend his money on mortgages in this country ? Will any one purchase an estate ? This tax would tend to raise disputes between the sister kingdom and us. If I had no other reason, this alone would be to me a sufficient reason for opposing it. It is not without indignation I frequently hear the last parliament disrespectfully mentioned in this House. The last parliament should meet far different treatment from this country ; they were its best friends : They rescued our constitution, and restored our commerce—they established good and wholesome laws, and deserve to have their memory immortalized. Instead of employing ourselves in futilities of this kind, we should, like them, attend to the preservation of our constitution, and improvement of our commerce : we should provide for the hundreds of manufacturers we see starving in our streets. Having thus far assigned my reasons for opposing this resolution, permit me now to vindicate my absent friend. If he was present, he would not need such an advocate as I am ; he is able and willing to defend his public and private character. My honourable friend sets such aspersions at defiance : they are false, as they are illiberal.

Sir *John Blaquiere* said, that he was so far from throwing any aspersions on the honourable baronet's friend, that he meant to

Compliment him. What he said was, that if he was the greatest enemy to the measure, he would not wish it to be brought into the House in a more improper time, than in the absence of the honourable baronet's friend, who, on a former occasion, had supported it with his great abilities.

Sir Frederick Flood—My honourable kinsman is not present. If he was, gentlemen would not be so well disposed to attack him.—I admit, though I would stand forward his advocate, though near in connection, and dear in friendship, I am very little acquainted with his political principles. He might, at a former period, when this measure was propounded, have voted for it. The times then required it. Your privileges were not asserted, your commerce was not liberated. We had every reason to consider the people of Great Britain as our tyrants. But now that we know them to be friends—that we have one common interest with them—that we have taken them to our arms, I believe, if my honourable relation was present, he would oppose this resolution.—The Right Hon. Gentleman said, going to a country, where he has acquired new connections, and new interest, might have prevented him from voting for this resolution. But I beg leave to contradict the assertion. If he has acquired that new interest, it will be for the good of this country. The Right Honourable Gentleman will, I hope, confess his mistake.

Right Hon. *John O'Neil*—This tax may hereafter, when necessity requires it, be eligible; but now I see no manner of occasion for it. The current expences of the year are provided; therefore it is superfluous. If gentlemen can shew any tax that lies heavier on the lower classes of the people, let us ease that useful description of men, of their oppression, and substitute this in the room of it. Let us substitute it for the execrable land tax; I will then most cheerfully support it; I will then think it necessary, and will accordingly vote for it. I wish it may not be postponed; and if, hereafter it shall be discussed, I hope it will be with intention to substitute it for others.

General Cunningham—As on a former occasion I supported this tax, and mean to oppose it now, I think it my duty to assign the reasons of this my conduct. Formerly I supported it, because I thought it fair that every man should contribute to the expences of the state, particularly they who did not reside in the country, and yet drew vast sums of money out of it. This was then a poor, impoverished, and enslaved kingdom. I was grieved to see, that though the absentees were men of great influence in England, yet nothing separate was done for Ireland. This I attributed to their inattention to the interests of this country; but those men I would then tax, to shew my resentment, have successively become ministers of England, and have taken an active part in Irish affairs, and to them in a great measure are due the advantages

obtained by this country. The Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Hillsborough, Lord Shelburne, and some others, have shewn themselves our decided friends. The bulk of my property consists in land, yet as I think a land tax very equirable, I shall most cheerfully pay it, provided the taxes I pay for wines and groceries are taken off: But an absentee tax I will resist, because I think it will produce discord between the absentees and us, when union is altogether necessary. I speak as an independent member, neither biased by a minister, nor under the influence of a county.

Sir Edward Newenham called the Honourable Member to order, and said he seemed to insinuate that county instructions were unconstitutional; that he was a friend to the principle of the bill; yet as his county had formerly instructed him on this head, he thought it his duty to submit his opinion to theirs, and therefore would vote against it.

General Cunningham.—A man instructed is not free; he has it not in his power to make use of his own understanding. Arguments in this House are thrown away on him, since he is not open to conviction. Influence of one kind is as bad as that of another. Every action of my life is consistent with the other. Gentlemen thus instructed are like Lord Thomond's cocks—all of one side. It was always a favourite idea with me, to take 4 or 500,000*l.* off something else, and put it on absentees; but the mover of this resolution seems in this, as well as some other instances, to load government with money whether they will or not.

Honourable Colonel Masséy.—The honourable introducer of this motion has not, by any thing he has said, changed my opinion. I voted against this tax formerly, and will vote against it now. The Hon. Mover has not specified what kind of absentee tax he intends. This is an unreasonable tax, and no reason therefore is assigned for, no necessity now exists for it—no one good can be gained by it, but the evils that may flow from it are many; the landed property of the nation may be ruined by it. I intend to vote against it now, but I do not pledge myself but I may, on a future occasion, support it.

Mr. Molyneux.—When this question was on a former occasion agitated in this House, it met far different treatment. I will own that it would have better become almost any other gentleman than myself. My age, my inexperience, and want of weight, should not cause this opposition. The measure should stand on its merits and not the proposers. It should not be opposed on my account. It is its misfortune it did not come from the treasury bench; such a circumstance would make a great change of opinion, many would be for it, who now vote against it. I have repeatedly mentioned my intention of bringing this measure forward.—I have mentioned it with the humility that became me. It was not for me to propose a plan, it would be

presumptuous. That was to be left to the committee. Our expences are above our taxes.—This might be appropriated to the payment of 300,000*l.* But I have not lungs to go over all the arguments used against my motion. I shall only assure the committee it is a matter I have not taken up lightly, and that I shall not lightly lay it down.

Sir *Thomas Osborne* disliked the tax as militating against liberty. This will, says he, be punishing English gentlemen who have estates here for partiality to their native country, for preferring it as a place of residence. Unforeseen accidents may make it necessary for gentlemen to leave this country, and settle in England. The uncertainty every man must feel of what may hereafter happen to him, will deter him from purchasing in a kingdom where there exists a strong probability such events may arise. The adoption of this measure would be to punish a number of respectable characters for the attachment they so strongly exhibited in favour of Ireland. Moreover, this is a superfluous revenue, and the application of such is always bad. This looks more like the suggestion of popularity than as arising from public necessity.

Mr. *Neville* thought the taxation illegal; it was an embargo on the liberties of the subject. He therefore would oppose it.

Attorney General.—I rise, Sir, to move that one shilling may be inserted in the room of four shillings. This I do to shew my abhorrence of the principle of this tax, which I think should be scouted out of this House with every mark of reprobation.

Mr. *Parsons* expressed his approbation of the principle of the bill, but objected to the time of bringing it forward; he would therefore vote against it.

The amendment was carried without a division.

The resolution was now put as amended, and passed in the negative.

Ayes,	—	—	22
Noes,	—	—	184

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1783.

The House in committee on the corn business, Mr. Bolton in the chair.

Mr. *Foster* said, he would deem the attention of the House very necessary, while he should speak to some resolutions he intended to propose. In the course of last session, says he, an act was passed which prohibited the importation of foreign wheat, until the market price rose to 36*s.* the barrel, which

act had a mischievous operation in a time of great scarcity. The resolutions I have in my hand tend to the encouragement of manufacture, at the same time that they will obviate such sort of difficulties in future. It is my intention that wheat may be imported, duty free, from England, as soon as the price shall arise to 27s. the barrel, and when it shall arise to 30s. the ports to be open to all other foreign countries, at the trifling duty of 3d. per barrel. The bill of last session, which I alluded to as the cause of all the threatened distresses of a famine, was introduced by an Hon. Member (Mr. Flood) now absent, I objected to it when introduced, on the probable ill consequences which were threatened by fixing it at 36s. the barrel, and contended for, its being fixed at 30s. but the Hon. Gentleman persevering in the support of the higher sum, the bill passed, though the subsequent ill consequences have proved my apprehensions to have been almost fatally right; but by fixing the import, in future, at 27s. the fear of receiving such ill consequences will be done away; and even this preference to British corn is only on condition of England's extending the like preference to us, which will support the maintenance of that friendly communication, which policy and affection should establish between both nations; and as in all probability our export may exceed our import, we shall thereby certainly gain a decided advantage. British corn has, at all times been importable here, at small duties, and Irish grain prohibited at stated prices into England; the system I intend to lay before the House, will place both countries on a proper and beneficial equality, and that system is shortly this: To allow a bounty on export, up to 27s. the barrel, then to allow export without bounty, and import without duty, from Great Britain, until it rises to 30s. the barrel, and when it rises to 30s. to prohibit export to every place, and admit import from every place. A sufficient price will be secured to the farmer by this regulation, who, in my opinion, should be contented with a guinea a barrel; yet he is allowed a bounty of 3s. 4d. a barrel on export, until the price arises to 27s. This regulation goes to wheat alone, every other sort of grain will be equally regulated, by which every necessity of embargoes, and the improper interference of the laws will be found totally needless. My idea would also embrace another object equally new and important, which is that of allowing foreign corn to be warehoused at all seasons. By this means the merchants will be encouraged to speculate, and the corn will not be sold out, till the price rises to the standard of allowing corn to be imported. Considering also our singular situation for the convenience of the American trade, and that the principal produce of that country is corn, there is a probability of our becoming the granary for the European markets, having the choice of preference for our own, if found needful; add to this, that America will receive

our manufactures for this corn. Individuals will be also benefited, because the merchant is intended to be allowed the warehousing of his own corn at a small duty, and giving bond for the remainder; being at full liberty either to export it, or sell it out for home consumption, when the price rises to the necessity of importation, and then his bond becomes cancelled. Here is a certain plan not only of constant supply for home consumption, but to supply the rest of Europe.

The regulation of the price at which corn shall be imported is another object. I would propose the Dublin market as the standard for regulating the rest of Ireland, because it will hold out the regular price for the merchant, and to avoid too frequent a change, the price will be regulated once in every three months, by the magistrates and sworn officers, and not by quarter sessions, at the average of six or eight preceding markets. I think Dublin points itself particularly out for this purpose, as the inland and coasting bounties bring its market to every farmer's door, and keep its port open, by encouraging a supply from other places. I propose also to abolish the absurd use of English measures, so that the bounties, &c. shall be regulated by Irish measures and Irish money. By these means the precise meaning of the law will come to every man's knowledge, in respect to bounties, prices, and other necessary matters. For the encouragement of the mills, I propose in regard to flour, to raise the bounty from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 11d. the hundred; and I am induced to this, from the supposition that a barrel of Irish wheat does not produce three-fourths flour, which the English might exceed. Before I move these resolutions I am ready to answer, and give every gentleman all the satisfaction in my power, to such questions as he shall think proper to put in regard to this measure.

Mr. *Hartley* thought even 30s. too high, though he approved of the reduction of the sum stated as the average price. He, at the same time, could not help remarking, that abolishing the export bounty from Dublin, was the measure which chiefly operated to raise the price of corn in this market.

Mr. *Foster* replied, that it would be highly absurd to grant large bounties of public money for bringing corn to Dublin, and afterwards grant other large bounties for taking it out of Dublin.

Mr. *Bushe* was inclined to differ in some small matter, but approved of the principle. He agreed, he said, as to the absurdity of giving a bounty for exporting corn from Dublin. It fell, within his own knowledge, that when the market price is 30s. a barrel in Dublin, it is but 25s. at Kilkenny. The premium on the carriage is too low.

Mr. *Carry* thought two months should be substituted for regulating the price instead of three.

Mr. *Foster* said, the objection could have no force, as corn was generally imported from America or the Baltic, and three months gave time little enough for the merchant to receive his answer. The market price of Dublin went only to regulate the import; but that of export was to be regulated by the average middle price of the three preceding market days in each port, and the reasonableness of this, must, he said, be apparent, because, if corn should be wanted in Dublin, it could be procured from those ports, as import into Dublin would be allowed, and the warehouses of the kingdom opened for home consumption.

Mr. *Hartley* applauded the tendency of the resolutions, to which he would give his hearty concurrence, because America would be a great market for the sale of Irish manufactures; and corn being the natural return of that soil, the Irish merchants would be the carriers of corn to all the rest of Europe.

The resolutions were then read, and agreed to unanimously, and Mr. *Foster* was complimented by the whole House, for introducing a subject which promised to be of the most permanent and material advantages to Ireland.—The report to be received on Monday.

Mr. *Gardiner* informed the House, that the committee appointed to investigate the state of the trade and manufactures of this country, had nearly closed that part which regards the loom; and that as evidence would end in the committee on Monday, he did intend to propose some resolutions, which he would annex to the report that would be made on Wednesday or Thursday.

It having been stated to the House, that Mr. *Stewart*, the petitioner on the county of Down election, though willing to pay the costs incurred by the petitioner, in obedience to the order of the House, yet could not make that payment until the costs should be duly verified by affidavit,

Mr. *Ritzgibbon* said, I did hope when the petitioner had been let off so quietly, we should have heard no more of this matter. I did not think he would have been so squeamish, or have added contumacy to the former offence: he comes now as a special pleader, making exceptions to an affidavit—the affidavit is as full and unexceptionable as possible—[read]—The sheriff's agent swears, that the sums charged as cost were fairly and actually paid to the sheriff's council and agents, and that they are the *ordinary fees*, generally paid upon such occasions: the offences charged laid against the sheriff in the petition, were most wicked and ill founded; after a solemn fair trial, the purity of that gentleman's honour has appeared—the petitioner himself, ashamed of those charges, says,

he had not read the petition which he signed—In my mind, the high rank of that gentleman aggravates the offence, for what might be excused in an ignorant man, should not be passed over in one who is better informed; but when the House consented to overlook his offence, it was considered as a very advantageous compromise, that he should pay the sheriff's costs, which I think are extremely moderate. I hope therefore, we shall hear no more of this affair, but that he will get out of it as well and as soon as he can.

Mr. Prime Serjeant—When I first saw the charges against the sheriff stated in the petition, I was convinced they were groundless, because I have known him many years, and I must say, I never knew a more honourable gentleman—I have had long and intimate acquaintance with him, and I must say, that I do not think there is one atom of impurity in his composition. A man who did not know my opinion of the sheriff, might think the part I am now taking was intended as an opposition to him, for which reason I think it right to declare before I proceed farther, the respect I bear to him.

But this, Sir, is not a question between an Honourable Member of this House, the sheriff and the petitioner—it is a question, whether a returning officer shall have a right to recover whatever costs he may incur from a petitioner, who charges him with partiality, and who fails to prove the allegations of his petition.—If you establish this rule, which never can be in the idea of the House, you may involve petitioners in a very great expence; and as the success of the sitting member necessarily involves the innocence of the returning officer, it never can be proper to allow the returning officer council and agents, as the sitting member defending himself by his council and agents, at the same time defends the returning officer. If you lay down a contrary rule, every man who is accused of bribery and corruption, may as well employ agents to defend him, and charge his costs to the petitioners—I speak upon general principles, not as to particulars. I have already declared my opinion of the sheriff, I now declare my respect for the noble Lord, the sitting member; he is deserving of respect, not only on his own account, but as being son to a tried and affectionate friend of Ireland—a man who upon every occasion has proved his attachment to this country.

But there is nothing in the report of the committee concerning the sheriff.—[A general cry,—*There is, there is!*]—Well, I am sure it never was the intention of the law—and I will move you, that the order of the House, so far as it relates to the petitioner paying the sheriff's costs, be rescinded.

Sir John Parnel—When I made the motion, which the honourable and learned member wants to have rescinded, it was contrary to my feelings; but that motion being questioned, how-

ever irksome to me, I am called upon to defend the propriety of it. The learned Member makes a distinction between trying the merits of an election, and trying the conduct of a sheriff.—But the trial of the election generally involves the sheriff's conduct—and as the verdict of a committee is, by the statute, evidence against him in a court of law, it would be the most cruel thing in the world, not to allow him council and agent to defend him. If his innocence appears, who should be at the expence of the council and agents? Certainly the man who by a frivolous or groundless petition induces that expence. But though the committee, in the present case, have made a special report, most honourably acquitting the sheriff of all the charges that were laid against him, I did not make this motion without consulting that person, (the Attorney-General) whose opinion in law-matters generally directs this House.

Mr. Parsons—The House, in making that order, did an illegal act. The House has no authority to impose a fine.—There is no precedent for it. And will the Commons assume an illegal power?

Mr. George Ogle—I desire it may not be understood that I have not as high a respect for the Honourable Gentleman (the sheriff) as any other member of this House; what I have delivered was a message at the request of the honourable petitioner, but not intended by me as an opposition to the Honourable Gentleman (the sheriff). I now think it my duty to declare, that I think the order of the House was perfectly well founded.

Sir Annesly Stewart—I am convinced the honourable petitioner never intended to raise any doubt concerning the authority of this House to impose the order mentioned; nor has he any idea of disputing that order.

Sir Henry Cavendish—There are many instances and precedents of the House imposing fines; and I think in the present case, the House is bound to be steady to its own order.

Sir John Blaquiére—The design of the House was to act with lenity to the Honourable Gentleman who was the petitioner, and the order was exceedingly favourable to him; but I think the dignity of the House is now attacked, and if it was possible that the learned member's motion could be agreed to, I would move to rescind the whole order touching the petitioner, and then that gentleman would be disgracefully brought to your bar: the order of the House was a most favourable compromise for him, and I am surpris'd any friend of his would desire to have it altered.

Lord DeVau—The sheriff, or other returning officer is allowed by law fourteen days to prepare his defence. Now how is he to defend himself if he be not allowed council and agents, and these are a kind of gentlemen that expect to be paid? An Honourable Gentleman says, this House has no right to fine persons—the direct

contrary is asserted by an Honourable Baronet, remarkable for his experience and skill in parliamentary affairs. I shall not presume to decide on those two opinions—but of this I am certain, that if the House cannot fine, it can confine persons, and that would be full as disagreeable to the petitioner.

The *Attorney General*—Whenever I differ with the learned and honourable gentleman who made the motion, I do it with the utmost diffidence; and I am convinced from his acknowledged abilities, he could not be so much mistaken if he had not totally overlooked the statute which is so plain, that he who runs may read. Now any one who reads that statute sees that the committee are sworn to try not only the merits of the election, but the charges made against the returning officer; any one who sees all the provisions that are made for this purpose, must see that it is as necessary for the returning officer to employ council as for the sitting member—What would be the consequence if every person might wantonly charge a sheriff, and put him to great expence without any cost or hazard to himself? The consequence would be, that no man of honour would accept the office of sheriff. I speak upon this occasion without considering the character attacked by the late petition—that character can stand by itself, and needs no support from any one—and as to the petitioner who has unwarily taken that step, perhaps the only wrong one he ever took, he is a man I esteem, and have long admired his conduct, both in this House and in private life. When he stood a candidate I was one of the first to give him my suffrage. I speak therefore the more boldly, and say, his friends are doing him an injury, sporting with his respectable character, and perhaps if the resolution of the House be rescinded, reducing him to the necessity of appearing disgracefully at your bar.

The *Prime Serjeant* withdrew his motion; and Sir *Annesly Stewart* promised the costs should be forthwith paid.

Mr. *George Ponsonby* said, that as on a former day he had given notice of his intention, to make a motion on the subject of the 100,000*l.* voted by parliament, for raising seamen [Mr. Ponsonby had promised to make this motion on the day next following that on which Mr. Molyneux should make his relative to absentees,]—he hoped though the House was something thin, it would not be considered as a surprize. An Honourable Gentleman, who had lately left this kingdom, (Mr. Flood) had not only insinuated, but directly charged government with one of the very worst crimes a government could be guilty of—the misapplication of the public money.—He had said, that part of the sum voted for raising seamen had been applied to the fencible regiments. But as the evidence of the matter of fact, the report of the committee of accounts, lay upon the table, he would enter into no argument, but propose his motion; which he did as follows, and was passed

REMI. CON.

He said, a very heavy charge had been made early in the session against government, for having misapplied part of the sum of 100,000*l.* voted last session for raising 20,000 men for the navy; he had therefore, a motion to make, which was a truism on the face of it; and he hoped a full and sufficient refutation of the charge that had been made.

Resolved, That it appears to this House, that the sum of 53,600*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*—part of the said sum of 100,000*l.* was appropriated to raising men for the navy.

Resolved, That it appears to this House, that the sum of 46,399*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* was placed to the credit of the nation.

Resolved, That it appears to this House, that no part of the said sum of 100,000*l.* was appropriated to the raising, accoutring, &c. of the provincial regiments.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1783.

Mr. George Lowther was sworn and took his seat.

An engrossed bill to enable the commissioners of his Majesty's revenue of excise, to empower the brewers of small beer, at certain times and under certain circumstances, to charge an higher price for small beer than by law they are entitled to charge for the same, according to order, was read a third time.

Resolved, That the bill do pass, and that the title be An act to enable the commissioners of his Majesty's revenue of excise to empower the brewers of small beer, at certain times and under certain circumstances, to charge an higher price for small beer than by law they are entitled to charge for the same.

Mr. *Gardiner* said, he had a petition of very great consequence to present, and he called for the attention of gentlemen to the subject of the petition; it was signed by a very numerous and respectable body of men, the factors and others concerned in the linen manufacture of this kingdom. The object of the petition was, to preserve to this country the exclusive possession of raw materials, on whose existence our staple manufacture entirely depended.—He then presented a petition, praying that the exportation of linen yarn may be limited.—The petition was read.

Sir *John Parnel* said, the petition required very serious consideration, and if it was a proper time to take it up, he was certain he could effectually answer the principle of the petition. He must observe, that several gentlemen would be very materially affected if the exportation of raw materials was to be limited. He represented a county where the woollen yarn was its principal support,

and in his opinion, the sense of the different counties should be taken, before the merits of the petition ought to be gone into.

Mr. *Pofter* observed, that the principle of the petition was erroneous, for it stated that the exportation of linen yarn would considerably injure the linen manufacture, but it was well known that as the exportation of linen yarn had encreased, the linen manufacture had advanced in proportion. He said, that in the last session of parliament it was proposed to put the exportation of linen yarn, on the same footing with that of corn; but the idea of altering duties on the exportation of linen yarn, had occasioned an universal alarm; and if you restrict the exportation of linen yarn, can you be certain that Great Britain will take off any of your woollen yarn?

Mr. *Gardiner* said, it was the system of every manufacturing country, to keep the exclusive possession of its raw materials.—Great Britain does it, Germany does it, and so does Russia; and from the best information he could assure the House, that the linen manufacture both in England and Scotland was rapidly increasing, and that in the latter kingdom in a very few years it had encreased quadrupely: he observed, that the persons who had signed the petition were persons of experience, character and property, and he believed would not introduce any thing into the petition which they were not able to support.

Mr. *Montgomery* (of Cavan) declared there was not a home consumption for one-fourth part of the linen yarn of this country.

Mr. *Daly* said, there was a very numerous body of people who had a claim on the attention of the House, as well as the petitioners, and that was the poor of this country; the woollen and linen yarn gave employment to thousands of them, and if you prevent the exportation, you deprive them of their bread. In his opinion, too much encouragement could not be given to the exportation both of woollen and linen yarn.

Mr. *Pelham* said, [alluding to Mr. *Gardiner's* committee] that as the evidence was closed on one part, and no new matter to be offered from that side, he thought that the evidence which had been gone through should be printed, in order for gentlemen to consider it, and defer going into any further business in the committee 'till after the Christmas recess.

Mr. *Gardiner* objected to have the evidence printed till the whole pro and con was gone through; the evidence on one part was closed, the committee had adjourned till twelve o'clock tomorrow, and were ready to hear any evidence might be offered; he would not consent to print a partial evidence, he was for proceeding in the regular usual way; it was business of such great moment; that no unnecessary delay should be given it was the wish, of his constituents, and he believed of the constituents of every gentleman in the House, that the business should be brought on as

soon as possible, and it could be done as well before Christmas as after.

Sir *John Blaquiere* desired that the petition of the company of undertakers of the grand canal, and the reports of the committee to whom it was referred, might be read.—Petition and reports read accordingly.

Sir *John* then observed, that nothing came before the House more unsatisfactory than any application respecting canals or navigation; he well knew the shameful abuses that had been hitherto made in the expenditure of the grants for such works; no man reprobated such abuses more than he did: but the grand canal, said he, has been conducted in such a manner, and is an object of such great utility, as intitles it to claim your attention. Much money has been already expended upon it; it is every day becoming an object of substantial utility, and will in a short time become a real advantage to the city of Dublin, and many parts of the kingdom; 50,000*l.* will complete this great work, but I perceive a prejudice against it, a latent disgust that would wish to scout it out of the house; it is not money the company wants, it is only the public credit and support of the nation that they require, and they have ample security to give for the sum they want to raise. He then moved, that the petition of the company of undertakers of the grand canal should be referred to a committee of the whole House.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* hoped the committee would be well attended—Great sums, he said, had been lavished in this undertaking, not less than 120,000*l.* of the public money, and 100,000*l.* of the company's own, for all which a very incomplete canal of 27 miles had been effected.

The company had first employed a Mr. Trail, an engineer, with whom they afterwards thought proper to quarrel: they then employed a Mr. Tarrent, a cannoneer, trained in an artillery corps, and this gentleman immediately, upon his appointment, to shew his skill and please his employers, proved Mr. Trail's locks as he would have done his own cannon, by over-charging them. I speak this from my knowledge of what passed in a court where Mr. Trail brought his action.

If the company get a grant of 50,000*l.* this session, for there is no difference in this case between a loan and a grant, they will want 50,000*l.* more next session, and if any grant is made them, you will have an application for 10,000*l.* for completing the navigation from Lough Allen, and 10,000*l.* more for completing from Killaloe to Limerick; there will be no end to those applications.

Sir *John Blaquiere* replied, and pointed out many conveniences that would arise, and some that were already experienced from the grand canal.

The committee as desired—The petition referred.

Mr. Marcus Beresford said, that he had mentioned, on a former night, his intention of submitting to the House a question—whether a right hon. friend of his (*Mr. Clements*) might be at liberty again to stand for the county for which his election had been by a committee declared void, but as that right honourable gentleman had since been returned for another place, he would not proceed upon the enquiry, nor trouble the House for an opinion, as under the present circumstances his right honourable friend must sit for the place that had returned him last; for the law, as laid down by the learned Serjeant Glanville is, that the country has such an interest in every man, and such a right to command his service, that he cannot decline the trust of becoming a representative of the people, even though that trust should be conferred upon him contrary to his own inclination.

Mr. Molyneux remarked, that he understood some resolutions had passed the House on Saturday night last, after he had left the House, which had done away the imputation of the money voted for seamen being applied to the raising of fencibles; but admitting this, could any man defend the measure of raising them at all, whereby the nation was put to an unnecessary expence? The volunteers, he said, were amply sufficient for the defence of the country, yet government had entered into this scheme, which cost the nation 36,000*l.* and cast an unmerited slight on the volunteers; he would therefore, he said, move a resolution to the following effect, which he hoped would meet with general concurrence:

Resolved, That the advisers and promoters of the scheme for raising fencible regiments, so universally and justly detested, deserve the censure and disapprobation of this House.

Sir Richard Musgrave proposed an amendment, by adding these words, “and also the advisers and promoters of increasing the salary of the Lord Lieutenant.” [This occasioned some laughing.] After which it was withdrawn.

The question being put on *Mr. Molyneux's* motion, there appeared

Ayes for it,	—	—	—	—	2
Noes,	—	—	—	—	112

Tellers for the ayes, *Mr. Molyneux* and *Sir Edward Newenham*.

Tellers for the noes, *Sir Richard Musgrave* and *Mr. Lodge Morres*.

The two ayes were the Honourable *James* and the Honourable *Denis Browne*.

Mr. Burgb (of Oldtown) reported Captain Brooke's loan bill.

Mr. Foster took notice, that the public prints, often from mistake and without any ill design, misrepresented the debates of

that House; but on Saturday last one of the papers had made a misrepresentation of him which could not be accidental; it had asserted that he had laid a duty on iron of 50s. per hundred, and had called upon every farmer to observe, that his ploughshare was taxed; he therefore thought it incumbent on him thus publicly to contradict the calumny, as a single penny had not been laid upon iron.

Mr. Bolton, according to order, reported from the committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to consider further of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the resolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, where the same were once read throughout, and then read a second time; and the question being severally put thereupon, were agreed unto by the House, and are as follow:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 10s. be laid on every barrel of wheat, or malt made of wheat, and of 6d. on every stone of wheat meal, and of 9d. on every stone of flour of wheat or biscuit which shall be imported into this kingdom, whenever the price of wheat in the city of Dublin, to be ascertained as may be hereafter directed by parliament, shall be under 30s. the barrel.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 10s. be laid on every barrel of rye or messin, and of 6d. on every stone of rye or messin meal which shall be imported into this kingdom, whenever the price of rye in the city of Dublin, to be ascertained as aforesaid, shall be under 22s. the barrel.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 10s. be laid on every barrel of barley, bere or big, and of 7½d. on every stone of barley, bere or big meal, and of 10d. on every stone of malt made of barley, bere or big, which shall be imported into this kingdom, whenever the price of barley in the city of Dublin, to be ascertained as aforesaid, shall be under 13s. the barrel.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 5s. be laid on every barrel of oats and on every hundred weight of oat-meal, which shall be imported into this kingdom, whenever the price of oats in the city of Dublin, to be ascertained as aforesaid, shall be under 10s. 3d. the barrel.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a duty of 10s. be laid on every barrel of peas or beans, and of 6d. on every stone of peas or bean meal, which shall be imported into this kingdom, when the price of peas or beans respectively in the city of Dublin, to be ascertained as aforesaid, shall be under 18s. 3d. the barrel.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the said several duties be paid in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties,

customs and impositions whatever payable by any law or laws heretofore made in this kingdom on the import of the said articles respectively, except such duties as are payable on flour of wheat imported.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that if the importer of any wheat, rye, barley, bere, big, oats, peas, beans, malt, meal or flour, shall pay down in part of the aforesaid duties the sum of 2*d.* for each barrel of grain, and a like sum of 2*d.* for each hundred weight of malt, meal or flour, the remaining part of the aforesaid duties may be bonded by every such importer upon his warehousing the same in the manner practised as to tobaccoes imported, and that for so much of the said articles so warehoused as shall be exported, or as shall be sold within this kingdom at a time when such articles respectively are prohibited to be exported from the port where the same are warehoused, an allowance shall be made upon such bonds for the duties secured for the same.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that whenever the price of any of the foregoing sorts of grain in the city of Dublin, to be ascertained as aforesaid, shall be at or above the foregoing prices respectively, a duty of 2*d.* and no more be paid for every barrel of such grain, and of 2*d.* and no more for every hundred weight of such malt, meal or flour, which shall be imported, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that whenever the price of wheat in the city of Dublin, to be ascertained as aforesaid, shall be under 30*s.* and not less than 27*s.* the barrel, or of rye in like manner shall be under 22*s.* and not less than 19*s.* 4*d.* the barrel, or of barley in like manner shall be under 13*s.* and not less than 12*s.* the barrel, or of oats in like manner shall be under 10*s.* 3*d.* and not less than 9*s.* the barrel, or of peas and beans in like manner shall be under 18*s.* 3*d.* and not less than 16*s.* 3*d.* the barrel, all wheat, rye, barley, bere, big, oats, peas and beans, malt, meal or flour thereof, being of British growth and imported from Great Britain, shall be exempted from the payment of any higher duties upon being imported thence than 2*d.* for every barrel of such grain, and 2*d.* for every hundred weight of such malt, meal or flour, the said exemption to commence so soon and to continue so long as the similar articles of Irish growth shall by some act or acts of parliament, to be made in Great Britain, be allowed to be imported from hence into Great Britain upon the like or lower duties, at all times when the prices of grain there, according to the measures made use of in that kingdom, shall respectively correspond with those aforementioned.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that whenever the price of wheat, taken at an average of the three market days next immediately preceding, in the market in or nearest to

any port in this kingdom, shall be at or above 30*s.* or of rye in like manner at or above 22*s.* or of barley in like manner at or above 13*s.* or of oats in like manner at or above 10*s.* 3*d.* or of peas and beans in like manner at or above 18*s.* 3*d.* the barrel, the export of all such grain, and any meal, malt, flour or biscuit, made therefrom, from such port, should be prohibited respectively, so long as the prices so taken shall continue at or above such sums respectively.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that in lieu of the bounties at present payable on the export of corn, grain, meal, malt and flour, the following bounties, and no other be paid on the export thereof, after the passing of this act; that is to say, 3*s.* 4*d.* for each barrel of wheat; 1*s.* 4*d.* for each hundred weight of wheat meal, or malt made of wheat; 1*s.* 11*d.* for each hundred weight of flour of wheat, or wheaten bread or biscuit, when the price of wheat, taken at the average of the three market days next immediately preceding, in the market in or nearest to the port from whence the same shall be exported, shall be under 27*s.* the barrel; 1*s.* 7*d.* for each barrel of barley, bere or big, and of 2*s.* for each barrel of malt made thereof, and 1*s.* for each hundred weight of flour or meal made thereof, when the price of barley, taken as aforesaid, shall be under 12*s.* the barrel; 2*s.* 2*d.* for each barrel of rye, and 10*d.* for each hundred weight of rye, meal or flour, when the price of rye, taken as aforesaid, shall be under 19*s.* 4*d.* the barrel; 1*s.* 5*d.* for each barrel of oats or hundred weight of oat-meal, when the price thereof, taken as aforesaid, shall be under 9*s.* the barrel; 2*s.* for each barrel of peas or beans, when the price thereof, taken as aforesaid, shall be at or under 16*s.* 3*d.* the barrel.

Ordered, That leave be given to bring in a bill, pursuant to the said resolutions; and that Mr. Bolton and the Right Honourable John Foster do prepare and bring in the same.

A bill for regulating the High Court of Admiralty in this kingdom, according to order, was read a second time and committed.

Resolved, That this House will, to-morrow morning, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take the said bill into consideration.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1783.

The following bills were brought in and presented by Lord *Delvin*:—To prevent bribery and corruption at elections—To punish mutiny and desertion—For allowing further time to qualify—For the relief of insolvent debtors.

On the debate on the latter it was declared, that no person should take advantage from it, except those in confinement on the 10th day of November.—This bill to be read a second time to-morrow.

Hon. *Denis Browne* reminded gentlemen, that he had given notice, ten days ago, of his intention of moving an address to his Majesty on the present situation of this country; he had come to the House yesterday with that intent, but finding it was but a thin House, he would not then bring it on, but deferred it to this day. He began with observing, that there are axioms that have never yet been controverted; that public œconomy in every state is necessary to its well being; that a load of accumulating debt is not a desirable thing, and that nothing but absolute necessity should force a country to exceed its revenues. A wise people will endeavour, by every means in their power, to get rid of the debt their necessity obliged them to contract; but what shall we say to the policy of a country that contracts debts upon slight occasions; that continues that expence, and encreases her expences in the hour of her poverty? He would endeavour to shew, that such is the policy of this country, and that she is pursuing a desperate system that must end in her ruin.

The situation of this country at this time needs little description; there is no man in this house but feels it; there are those who live on the spoils, that, like wasps, suck the blood, regardless of the wound, and smile at our impending ruin; need I tell you of the farmer ruined by calamitous times, of the lower order of people starving, and obliged to sell their provision to satisfy the landlord, who himself can only get the means of existing from his lands? Need I tell you that the avenues to the capital are beset with starving manufacturers, and at the very doors of this house, begging of your members to avert by a small donation the miseries of famine? Their necessities made them bold, they even ventured into the castle-yard: their complaints were heard, though but seldom heard before, and proper steps were taken to relieve them; the privy council was summoned—the doors were barred—and the guards of the city were doubled; the garrison ordered to hold themselves in readiness—to massacre people already conquered by hunger! Such is the situation of your country. Yet this was the time when you were to keep up an useless and expensive army, and minister to the useless pageantry of a court. He said, the necessity of œconomy, and of every retrenchment, is obvious, even if the situation just described was but imaginary. He took his principal argument from a learned and respectable gentleman on the other side of the House. From the present limits of the British empire, this country will probably be invaded, whenever the pride or necessities of England shall involve us with herself in the calamities of war; but he knew that gentleman too well, to think he would therefore argue, you ought not

to retrench. He would agree with him, that, for that reason, you ought to abolish the band of pensioners; that you should abolish all useless places and employments.—But a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Grattan) and he differed as to the military establishment; that gentleman thinks soldiers better than money, but, for his part, he thinks money better than soldiers, because, when you have money, you can have soldiers, and not a moment longer: will you have it when your treasury is exhausted, when you have no more credit? or, will not that be the consequence of a debt obviously more than you are equal to, by daily accumulating, and the want of œconomy in time of peace, and contracting debts in time of war? He owned he had little hopes, without an address passing, such as he meant to offer to their consideration, that any measure tending to retrenchment and œconomy would be adopted: He would not attribute the speech from the throne to his Majesty, it is pretty well understood to be the speech of the minister, and is equally well understood to have no great regard to œconomy. An Hon. Baronet moved for a resolution, declaratory of the necessity of œconomy; an amendment was tacked to it, leaving an extensive latitude for extravagance; a reduction of the army was proposed, and rejected; an Hon. Gentleman proposed an increase to the salaries of the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary; the coyness of the treasury bench was truly commendable; the most fashionable lady could not have acted a more delicate part; they refused, they begged a little time to consider, and at last, with averted face, they accepted; not content with this, they generously stretched the public credit for the service of individuals. But he wished to do every man justice; no person can accuse the Rt Hon. Secretary of inconsistency; he was repeatedly asked for a specific plan of retrenchment, he fairly told you there was none; as to his general professions, he himself never thought of your paying any attention to them; but, however hurtful it may be to our own feelings, even to the supposed dupes to ministerial hypocrisy, there is a degree of political iniquity which I hope we never shall arrive at; when a minister, backed by his majority, will attempt to overturn the freedom of parliament—when he will attempt to interrupt the freedom of debate—whenever he shall brand with the odious epithet of faction every man who shall propose to you any thing that militates against his wish—when he shall frighten a young man from his subject, by putting a question, whether another shall be heard before him—and finally, when he shall, by sounding the alarm when there is no danger, endeavour to divide a country that obtained freedom of trade and constitution by its unanimity—if that period should ever arrive, which heaven forefend, I would say, Take care, my countrymen! your liberties are attacked! they are in danger, not from your volunteers, that have worked your salvation, but by emissaries

from another country, a country from which you received your liberties, and who wishes to take back what she unwillingly gave; a country practised in the arts of tyranny and seduction, and who knows there is no time so proper for accomplishing her purposes as the hour of internal commotion—I would tell them (weak and incapable as I am) I would use every constitutional means in my power to obtain you a redress of grievances; I would tell them that government must be a bad one, that not content with injuring you by their imbecility, they strike at the root of your constitution—The hour of ripe iniquity will come, so shall the hour of retribution. He said, he must beg pardon of the House for this digression, for taking up their time in stating imaginary grievances which never can happen, at least whilst we are blessed with the present *patriotic* administration—But to return to the subject—

Among the other excellent arguments we have heard against military retrenchment, it was asked why ought you to diminish your expences at the time you are certain of an increase of revenue from your free trade? And he would answer gentlemen, because it would be the height of folly to depend on the prospect of your estate, before you enter on it, and that there never was a time when public retrenchment was so necessary, that you may be enabled to encourage and assist your infant manufactures—Your ordinary expences exceed your ordinary revenue; and he contended for it, it ought not to do so, except in cases of absolute necessity: If that be allowed, how are you to make your revenue equal to your expences? By laying such taxes on your infant trade as must stop it in its bud—He did not think the produce of such ruinous taxation would answer the end proposed—By such a system you would sell the reversion and keep up your expence, as if you were certain of the estate. Thus far he had gone to shew the impolicy of spending on a prospect in any case whatever. The disadvantages of a commencing trade, he observed, are obvious, the greatest commercial countries of the world, long laboured and worked through the greatest difficulties, before they established a permanent commerce—the jealousies of all other trading nations—the experienced endeavouring the ruin of the inexperienced—the man attempting the ruin of the child—the length of time, the impossibility of bringing your manufactures to an equal degree of perfection with your neighbours; and finally, wanting that experience in trade so necessary to its success: We have every one of those general disadvantages, besides others peculiar to ourselves, to struggle with—we have a division of interest—we have the government of that country, from which we forced our trade, that unfortunately has generally so great an influence on our parliament, so fatally great, that measures most obviously pernicious to the welfare of

this country, have been carried through this House—He witnessed the prohibition of your woollens—he witnessed the compact you are told of, by which you were to give up a national advantage to England of your woollen trade, if she would generously allow you to supply her advantages in the linen trade—and he asserted, she could not be supplied with linens on the same terms from any other country in Europe—He said he had certainly no partiality for the manufactures of this country, and he instanced her taking her sail cloth from Russia, which she could have on equal terms from this country—and do you not believe that she will undermine you in every place she can by underhand negotiation? Do you not think she will have majorities in your parliament, that will prevent your serving yourselves? This is not arguing from theory, it is arguing from experience and from practice. The conclusion he drew from this was, that our prospect of succeeding as a commercial country is an event uncertain, at least very far distant; that the advantages arising from it cannot be considered as a fund to supply present extravagance. He said, for these reasons, he would propose this address, as he was convinced in his own mind, that the affairs of this country require an immediate and superior interposition. He then moved his address:

Resolved, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to lay ourselves at his Majesty's feet, to assure his Majesty of our inviolable attachment to his Majesty's person and government, and of the grateful sense we feel of his Majesty's paternal goodness and attention to his subjects of Ireland—and to declare our readiness and zeal to support, in the most honourable manner, at all times, the necessary expences of his Majesty's government, and the dignity of his crown.

That we think it, however, incumbent on his faithful Commons, humbly to lay before his Majesty, that for a series of years past, the expences of his Majesty's government, have constantly far exceeded the net produce of the revenue, whereby the nation has incurred a great and accumulating debt; and in order to discharge the interest thereof, his Majesty's faithful Commons have been under a necessity of diverting a considerable part of those revenues, which formerly served towards defraying the current services of his Majesty's government.

That in the year 1773, his Majesty's faithful Commons did grant several new duties, and have since, from time to time, increased them.

That they were induced thereto, upon the faith of promises made to his Majesty's Commons, by his Majesty's minister, that the expences of government should be retrenched, so that the new grants of the people, and the promised retrenchment by the minister, should concur in a system of equalization, and put an end to the ruinous practice of running in debt.

That his Majesty's faithful Commons have fully performed their part of the engagement, but that their bounty has been so far from being answered on the part of his ministers, that in no period of time has the debt of the nation advanced with so rapid a progress as since that period—in so much that your Majesty's Commons now find themselves burthened with a debt enormously greater than it was at that period—vastly greater than this nation was ever before loaded with, and still accumulating, besides being also loaded with those new taxes, which were granted for the sole purpose of putting an end to so ruinous a practice.

That his Majesty's present ministers, finding themselves unable to support the charges of government without increasing the debt of the nation, although aided by all the new taxes, and an increase of produce in the revenues, and although a very great proportion of the army was not upon our establishment, did in this present session apply for 300,000*l.* to supply the deficiency of the revenues, so that your Majesty's faithful Commons cannot even now see any end to the ruinous accumulation of our debt.

That such a practice, if suffered to continue, must exhaust the resources, and check the trade of this country, and must end in the impoverishment and ruin of the nation, and ultimately disable his Majesty's faithful Commons from those exertions which may become necessary hereafter, and which they shall ever be most willing and desirous to make in support of his Majesty's government.

That we have long confided in the repeated assurances of economy given us from time to time, by his Majesty's ministers; but now at length finding it in vain any longer to wait for redress from that quarter, we think it inconsistent with our duty to his Majesty, and those whom we represent, any longer to refrain from applying for redress at the foot of the throne, and imploring his Majesty's protection against his ministers.

Mr. Parsons seconded the motion.

The Attorney General.—This is a question upon which the sense of the House has been already taken three times this session. It looks extraordinary to have it introduced at this time, after a committee had been appointed to take into consideration, the only plan practicable, which was a plan for the reduction of the civil establishment; and after the House had passed a resolution for all practicable retrenchments. I am as much an enemy as any man to the accumulation of debt, session after session; but the increase of our revenue affords a prospect of our being soon able to put an end to it, by its reaching the amount of our expences. It consequently follows, that an ad-

dress of this nature was never less necessary than at this time. Were gentlemen to contrast the debt of Great Britain, with the debt of this nation, they might perhaps be led to think, that we have really no cause to be alarmed.

The revenue of England amounts to twelve millions, and her debt two hundred millions; the revenue of Ireland is one million, and she owes but three millions.—Two hundred millions divided by twelve, and three millions by one, will give the relative proportion of the debts and revenue of both nations.

When gentlemen so earnestly solicited an increase of the Lord Lieutenant's salary, I cannot perceive what objection they can make to my complying with that solicitation, particularly as the measure was their own, and carried by themselves. The distresses of the manufacturers is a perpetual theme; but perhaps those distresses do not *solely* arise from the badness of trade—perhaps idleness and intemperance contribute to this distress—and though I pity and regret that delusion, which can make them abandon their industry, I cannot withhold my indignation at the incendiaries who occasion their calamity, from motives of turbulent design, and set them madding for visionary reforms.

When England is adverted to, it cannot be forgotten that England has surrendered every claim of controul over Ireland, restored her rights, and with singular generosity complied with our most ultimate wishes. All that we asked respecting commerce, was the right of trading with all the nations in amity with our sovereign; but the right of trading with the British colonies, those colonies to which England has exclusive right, by establishing them at the expence of so much of her blood and treasure, was an idea which could not enter into any man's head, without the indulgence of England; and yet, the liberality of England granted that indulgence, by giving us an equal participation in her plantation trade. After such proofs of good will and self-denial, after exhibiting a nobleness of conduct, which placed her affection in the most unequivocal light, is this a time to talk of British illiberality, when she admits us not only to a participation of every commercial advantage she enjoys, but protects our trade with fleets maintained at an enormous expence, to which we never contributed the support of a shilling?

I cannot admit that the present address is necessary, and I think the House will be of the same opinion. I shall therefore, as the most respectful way of getting rid of it, move the order of the day, for going into a committee on the bill for establishing an high court of admiralty in Ireland: A bill, which in itself, affords an instance, among many others, of the wide dif-

ference of the times when such an address would appear necessary, and the present time.

Mr. *Molyneux* rose to make a few observations on the many unjustifiable attempts which had been made to cast an odium on the measure he lately proposed to the House. As the integrity of the measure, says he, could not be impeached in any other shape, it has been placed on the ground of originating from the Treasury Bench; but I beg leave to observe on my own behalf, that I stand here as independent a member as any in the House, and I think myself called upon to say so, when vile insinuations are given, which must meet my utter contempt. The word *premeditated* has been dropped. If the Honourable Gentleman who uttered that word, would thereby imply, that I made the motion at the instance of, and with the knowledge of the gentlemen who generally occupy that bench, he is misinformed, and has misinformed the House. As I do not inhabit the seat of science, I cannot, perhaps, boast the advantages of the Honourable Member, nor can I boast sucking in knowledge with every breath; but there is no man I will yield to in purity of intention, nor will I yield in purity of heart, to any man who hears me—therefore, I will not suffer any man to whisper away my character.

My feelings have been hurt, and if I have trespassed on the patience of the House, it must be attributed to those feelings.—When insinuations have been thrown out injurious to my honour, it becomes necessary I should maintain that honour.

The Right Honourable Secretary who sits upon that bench, has been also attacked with the same impropriety of language—language, which in my opinion, is more injurious to the man by whom it is uttered, than to the object to whom it is applied—That Right Honourable Gentleman has conducted himself with becoming delicacy, and has not been backward in declaring that great savings may be made in the army extraordinaries. The serious disposition he evinces to go into that business, will not, for mere opposition sake, meet opposition from me. I shall, on the contrary, hold myself thankful for every retrenchment he shall make.

To those gentlemen who talk of the successful mock battles fought in their absence, I shall only observe, that it reminds me of a soldier, who, abandoning his comrades at an approaching engagement, returns after their defeat, and cries out, “O lie, boys! How comes it you were so shamefully beaten? Had I been there I would have determined the fate of the day.”——“And why, were you not there?” replied his comrades. So may I truly ask, why did gentlemen abandon their duty, when their country’s fate was in question? The measure was not stole into the House, and why did they not attend to support it? Sufficient notice was

given of it to every one within doors, and every one without doors was apprized of it. With what propriety, therefore, can those men throw out insinuations against my conduct, when they were themselves guilty of a criminal absence?

Mr. *Corry* rose, and in a torrent of elocution, that from its perspicuity, swiftness, matter and manner, we find ourselves unable to convey an adequate idea of, reprobated in the severest terms the late practice of calling for the order of the day; and then, after answering the Attorney General's objections to the address, observed, that no Lord Lieutenant had ever come to this kingdom in more favourable circumstances than the present, sent here under the auspices of the Duke of Portland, a nobleman that may truly be said to have given us a constitution, and who during his stay here, had planned effectual retrenchments:—To any viceroy whom it has been the gracious will of his sovereign to appoint, this country has always given the most implicit confidence on his arrival; and to that ministry, which gave hopes that they would act upon the principles of the noble Duke, under whose auspices they arrived here, and which was certainly to be fairly implied from his appointment under that noble Duke's administration, the greatest confidence was given, of a conduct truly according with the real whig principles which that party profess: the country reposed themselves in sure and certain hope, that œconomy in the administration of the government, regard to the constitution, attention to the people, would be the leading features of the picture to be drawn of their future conduct; that if the wishes of the people should generally lead to any particular point, they were sure, if not of the most immediate compliance, at least of the most flattering attention; that if the constitution, or the proceedings in parliament could be rendered more to accord with the spirit of the true whig friends of the country, that both would be promoted to the utmost of their power;—that if reduction of expence could be effected, no efforts would be wanting to give immediate birth to plans of retrenchment, and efficacy to measures of œconomy—that an extensive and wise system of commerce would be proposed and adapted, and that arrangements would be made upon the lasting foundation of justice and equity, between the two countries, in order that the immutable principles of right and truth, being once clearly laid down, and mutually agreed in, all future possible dissension might be for ever precluded between them;—and to crown the whole, as peace was happily restored, whatever were the terms of it, that the season furnished the most ample means and opportunity of putting into effect without molestation, all the wise and happy measures, which wanted only such a season for their full maturity, and for the nation to reap that harvest of substantial advantage, which their own virtues had in glorious and immortal efforts sown the seeds of.—But alas,

Sir, these flattering prospects have proved all delusion, and there is the most decided reason, in reviewing the conduct that has been held, for withdrawing our confidence from the present administration, and agreeing in an address which contains in itself, an undeniable train of facts, and concludes with stating, that we cannot confide in the promises of his Majesty's ministers, and therefore implore his Majesty's assistance against them, upon the subject of œconomy; the truth of this, Sir, must appear whether you turn your eyes to your military establishment, to your commercial system, or to your internal œconomy.

As to your military establishment the blessings of peace are restored, but your army is continued as burthenome as during the war: But you are promised a saving in army extraordinaries; the reduction of your army establishment would have been an effectual retrenchment of expence, the extraordinaries of your army must be reduced by the nature of the service in time of peace—Thus retrenchment is refused you, in the only article where retrenchment could be effectual, that is in the reduction of your army; and a paltry œconomy promised you in the only article where profusion is impracticable, that is in the extraordinaries of your army. Though your war establishment is kept up, there is not even the extenuation of any statement, to shew that the troops or the garrisons of Great Britain require it, or that the empire is thereby put in any respect in a better situation: Where are the documents to shew the necessity for armies, when Great Britain is sitting down in peace, or the demand for garrisons when she has lost thirteen provinces, and evacuated the continent of America?—Had she required them, Ireland would have sustained the burthen with pleasure, standing upon the ground of the necessities of Great Britain, and animated and supported by the conscious dignity, and pride of disinterested generosity; that generosity which is one of the characteristic virtues of your nation: and therefore as this measure must strike the people of Ireland, it must appear as a measure of profusion and prodigality, not warranted by any necessity, and to Great Britain it must appear a dupery upon this country; since you have neither the merit of granting a favour, nor the advantage of claiming an acknowledgment. But the object is different from any of these, an army of patronage, not of protection, is to be your establishment; an army of the minister, not an army of the country—an army of officers, not an army of men—an army that a general would laugh at, if he knew his profession, and an enemy despise—an army burthenome in maintenance, and insufficient in service—one merit, however, must be given to the advisers of this measure, that it is of all armies the best calculated for the situation of this kingdom, where influence alone is wanting to the minister, not protection to the coun-

try.— Does this give you confidence in the œconomy of his Majesty's ministers ?

Does the state of your commercial system inspire confidence in them ? To a question of national œconomy as this is, commercial consideration can never be deemed foreign ; for œconomy always includes a consideration of means, and their sufficiency or insufficiency to their purposes, and commerce is in this as in every other country, the source of those means which are to be considered.— At the opening of the session, the subject of commerce was presented to the attention of the minister ; and when a member moved an enquiry into one branch, which evidently stood in need of regulation, though it was then denied that it did so, he was told, that he ought not to fritter away the greatness of the subject by frivolous enquiries, that a great system was to be formed, and brought forward by ministry. I happened to be that member who incurred the rebuke, and I congratulated the House then upon the evidence it gave of a great commercial system being so far formed and fashioned, as to be liable to be deranged by any interference of another hand ; and is it possible that every man in this House, and that every man in the nation, should be left to this time in ignorance, not of what are to be the commercial *regulations*, for those might require time and are trivial in comparison, but of the commercial *principles* of this country ; *principles* that ought to be clearly stated, fully digested, generally approved, and universally avowed—to leave this undone, shews an incapacity or a criminality, that I am sorry to be obliged to impute ; incapacity to a ministry unable to form such a system is surely to be imputed, and criminality to a ministry neglecting to form and bring it forward, is surely to be charged.

And here let me call your attention to a subject that demands your utmost vigilance—if ever you rejoiced in the name of a free trade, or if ever you gloried in a free constitution to protect that trade ; you rejoiced in things certainly necessary to your happiness, but certainly of abstract nature only. You are now to apply those acquisitions practically the only way in which they are valuable, and to lay your hand upon the substance in which they exist ; for without that substance they are meer empty words, plausible topics of declamation, fruitful sources of popular applause.—You are now to substantiate the blessings of a free trade, by the power and energy of a free constitution—you are now to settle the principles of your commerce, as an independent country, and that in two different situations : first as a federative country with the sister kingdom, and secondly, as a sovereign country with the rest of the world—two very distinct arrangements : What those arrangements are to be, I am far from presuming to say, but I will say, that it behoves us to consider them well, and that speedily. And, Sir, let me call your attention

particularly to one great consideration, which extends to both those points, I mean the navigation act; on the construction of which depend the future welfare and grandeur of this country.—Recollect and for ever remember the declaration made within these few days by a Right Hon. Member (Mr. Foster) who, with a manly and decided clearness, that does him honour, declared his explicit resolution to contend for an equal, fair and identical construction of that act with what shall prevail in England.—Recollect his firmness in persevering in that declaration, notwithstanding that another Right Hon. Gentleman next him (Mr. Secretary Pelham) got up to deliver a sentiment, certainly not to that amount, if not in opposition to it. Does that bode well to this country? Does that discover a regard to the rights of Ireland? Is that consistent with ideas of mutual advantage, common rights and interests, and equal trade? Does that give you confidence in the œconomy of his Majesty's ministers?

See now, Sir, whether your internal œconomy affords better grounds for confiding in the present ministry. Where are the reductions made in your civil list to balance the profusion of your military prodigality? Where are the offices suppressed, or the pensions discontinued, notwithstanding the hopes given upon that score to parliament, and the professions made? professions which, had they been put in practice, must have still been branded with the absurdity of neglecting military œconomy in time of peace, and retrenching revenue offices at the moment we were to expect an extension of trade:—Instead of even these measures we have seen increase of salaries voted at a time when the country was scarcely able to pay the old, and without any documents whatsoever to shew either increase of expence in the offices to which they were granted, or any new circumstance that proved them justifiable.

How ought the advisers of his Excellency to blush at the recollection of having added meanness to the extravagance of his administration, when they reflect that the first new extravagance of his Excellency's government had for its object his Excellency's own emolument! The increase of salaries to the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary are warranted by no estimate of their expence, or of the ability of the country; and where is the merit of their administration that calls for such a voluntary testimony of national regard? Have they reduced your establishments?—Have they acknowledged your commercial rights?—Have they formed a system for your trade?—Have they given you a parliamentary reform?—Have they given due construction to the navigation act?—Have they settled the treaty with Portugal?—Have they settled your trade with America? But whatever the measure was in itself, the manner of it is so degrading, and is of such duplicity, as to banish all confidence in those who first formally refuse

and pledge his Excellency's commands for the refusal, stating that they are but just come out of his Excellency's closet, and then with shameless inconsistency themselves carry by numbers, on a division, the measures they in their speeches opposed. It puts me in mind, Sir, of a play in which I acted when at school; it was Richard the Third, and I remember I played Buckingham, who was the confidential minister of Richard, the protector or viceroy of the kingdom. Richard, Sir, had a great mind to have the crown forced upon him by the people, but was determined to appear to refuse it; and he sends for Buckingham into his closet: Buckingham, Sir, was not the attorney-general, but yet an able minister for the purpose:—"My dear cousin and counsellor," says the viceroy, the people are now met, and there will be something said about the crown; hasten down to the meeting, and tell them that you are just come out of my closet, and that you come to assure them, that it is my command that they shall not think of offering the crown to me upon any terms; and that if they do, I certainly shall not accept of it: And then, my dear Buckingham, no matter for what you have said, tell them that, notwithstanding all you have spoken, yet that they ought to force it upon me; and be the first to toss up your cap, or, if there be a division, be the first to cross the floor: and be sure to carry the point, and you shall have the earldom of Hereford for your pains." [Here the House in a loud laugh.] I remember, Sir, continued Mr. Corry, I did not much like the business, being a very young man, and I thought in my own mind, rather that the author was to be held cheap for imposing upon me a scene which even hurt me to play it, but which could never possibly be acted in real life. I must confess, Sir, I was but a poor judge then of Shakspeare's merit, and little acquainted at that time with politics.—However, Sir, if I recollect the play, I came back to the viceroy after the business was over, and told him what a devil of a figure I had made of myself—how the people all stared to hear me speak one way and vote the other—that when I came as minister just out of the closet with your commands, and the next sentence said that I would do directly the reverse of them, and bid them do the same, they thought nothing else, to be sure, but that your Excellency must have been at the bottom of it all, and that as to what they thought of me, I must have appeared extremely ridiculous and very contemptible indeed; but be that as it might, that their speaker was to come up at the head of them with an address begging that your Excellency may accept of their offer. [Here the House was in a roar of laughter.] I remember, Sir, we then settled the etiquette of the viceroy's receiving them—how long he was to refuse and play the virgin, and then, as other virgins do, to yield to their strong enforcement.—And then, Sir, I recollect I put him in mind of the earldom and moveables of

Hereford that were promised me : But, whether from a change of the viceroy's mind, or from a change of ministry, I never got my preferment.

Yet, Sir, whatever we may have seen resembling the former part, I sincerely hope we may not see the latter in the disappointment of a right honourable and worthy friend of mine, but that he may speedily adorn that bench to which this House is destined to resign him : for if my right honourable friend, on that occasion, seemed weakly to have yielded to the interested wishes of others, let it not be imputed as criminal ; complacency of disposition and goodness of heart shield him, even as a politician ; and that kind of weakness, like the weakness of the other sex, proves against every attack the strongest protection.

But, Sir, there is another reason for not reposing confidence in his Majesty's present ministers in this country, and a strong one it is, for the House must remember it : In the opening of the budget it was stated by the minister expressly that no new tax would be proposed ; and now, Sir, see whether that is the case. Was not a tax on your home brewery proposed, which was obliged to be withdrawn ? I mean, exclusive of that on malt liquors imported.—Is there not a tax of 6*d.* on rum, and 8*d.* on foreign spirits, the gallon ?—Is not the old allowance of 6 and 10 per cent. taken away from the merchant importer, in order to retain the old distinction ?—Is not a new 6 per cent. imposed on retailing importers ?—Are there not other new taxes imposed under different pretences, and some other yet to follow ?—Does this conduct inspire confidence ? In short, Sir, the state of the country forbids confidence—Peace is restored to the empire, yet your army is continued as burthensome as during the war ; nay, it becomes even more so by the restoration of your troops which you nobly lent to Great Britain, when you undertook to defend your own coasts by your own volunteers—the session is advanced to the near finishing of the minister's business, but no plan of oeconomy proposed—no new encrease of expence appearing to the House, yet new encrease of emolument voted to his Excellency and his Secretary, and the division headed by the ministry in favour of it. Oeconomy recommended from the throne in a case where it could not apply, the Genevans being already come over, and where, if it could apply, it would be disgrace—profusion abetted by the servants of the crown in a manner that adds meanness to criminality—the commercial interests of the nation suffered to languish unnoticed, and the system of your trade not so much as mentioned in the house by ministry—the anxious wishes of the people of Ireland for a parliamentary reform not only disappointed, but their favourite object scouted out of the House with a contempt that denied it even the form of a hearing. This is a subject, Sir, upon which I should dwell, but that I

feel myself restrained by that moderation and regard to public peace, the want of which I so strongly blame upon this subject in ministry: But I shall not dwell on it, for popularity is a thing which, though I revere it; yet I never court; and public peace is a thing I always highly regard: Still, Sir, I must express my disapprobation of the arbitrary condemning of a measure not considered, and the calumniating of a body of men, the volunteers, first misrepresented as to their conduct, and afterwards censured for the monstrous and false description given of them. Idolatry of old formed with its own hand the object to which it prostrated itself afterwards in worship, it was left for the political blasphemy of the present day to vilify with its own tongue, the object of public veneration, and then to insult it with a contempt founded only in its own defamation.—Upon every consideration, Sir, I shall vote for the address proposed.

Mr. *Hatton* said, though he rejected the idea of troubling his Majesty on every occasion, he thought the present address necessary. The assertion made by a Right Hon. Gentleman, that the distresses of the poor arose from idleness, drunkenness, and madness for a reform, was unjust and illiberal. The uniform conduct of that Right Hon. Gentleman, reminded him of a line in a remarkable poet:

“ He scorns the base degrees by which he rose,”

The *Attorney General*—I never, in my life, was more astonished than at the wanton and unprovoked attack now made upon me. If the arm of any other man had been lifted to aim such a stroke, I should have looked to the person from whom it came to have been the first to rise in my defence. I cannot account for this attack on any other ground, but that the gentleman, being unable to produce any argument on the present debate, turned aside to speak of the volunteers. I did not introduce the volunteers—no words or meaning of mine had any application to that subject. He said, the Right Hon. Gentleman remarked, that “they were running after visionary projects of reform.” [Here the Attorney General explained what he said about the manufacturers.] But even if I had applied such words to the volunteers, I am not afraid to repeat them—I am not afraid to repeat, that the volunteers assembling and projecting an alteration of the constitution, meditating to supersede the authority, under the pretence of reforming parliament, places their situation in a different light from that in which they stood, when they loyally and dutifully pledged themselves to maintain the rights and privileges of parliament. And this I am free to avow, at the very time, that I shall now and ever declare, that they have my hearty thanks, and my warm gratitude, for such a noble demeanor of conduct. They have been greatly instrumental in procuring all these advantages for their country which it now enjoys. But after obtaining those

advantages, is this a time for them to meet in arms, and impeach that parliament, which, during its sitting, has neglected no occasion of advancing the interest of the nation? The barons who obtained the great charter of our liberties, though they met in arms at Runnymede, met in parliament, not to subvert, but to support the constitution, and to wrest a usurped prerogative out of the hands of a tyrant. But what usurpation of prerogative is there now to complain of? The power of the crown is limited to its proper bounds; and when the interest and the preservation of the subject, compelled the crown to extend its prerogative beyond those bounds, has it not come, as a suppliant to your bar for indemnification? A bill is now under the very roof of this house, to indemnify those who advised and acted under a late suspension of the law, which prevented the people from perishing in famine. Illiberal language may be thrown out against me, but a conscious rectitude shall make me despise such language. It was said, I scorned the base degrees by which I ascended—I scorn the assertion as much as I do those who uttered it. What action or situation of my life has given me occasion to hide or to scorn the degrees by which I may be said to have ascended to the station in which I now stand? I thank Heaven, I could now retire from that station, and bid defiance to the voice of calumny in the contemplation of a life, unstained with crimes, and untainted by vices. No change from one side of the house to the other, can ever change me. Can any man say, that I ever delivered a sentiment on that side, that I do not maintain on this? I made no overtures to government—government came over to me. I went into office with the constitution, and when ministers cease to support that, I will then go out.

When I mentioned the idleness of the manufacturers, I meant not to arraign the poor deluded people, but those factious incendiaries, who excite them to assemble into mobs, and come in a tumultuous manner to your doors. As to retrenchments, I believe my Hon. Friend (Mr. Corry) and I comprehend one object. He may be assured of my hearty coincidence with any measure he shall adopt to serve the country. I shall be as ready to support as he can be to propose it; and though I may be the object of his ingenious allusion in the story of Buckingham, yet I can laugh, as well as any man, at his pleasant and agreeable manner of application.

The part I took in the increasing of the Lord Lieutenant's salary, should preclude me from being upbraided on that head. You will do me the justice to recollect, that I delivered his Excellency's message, declining the liberality of the House, or at least to wait the result of his Majesty's pleasure on so important a matter; but it being over-ruled, I voted according to the dictates of my own judgment and opinion.

Mr. Mason—I must make one observation, which is, that by the Hon. Gentleman's own assertion, the address he has moved cannot answer the end he proposes. He says, that no retrenchment can be made, but in the military establishment; but the military establishment for the ensuing year, has already passed both in this House and in the Lords, and is now ready for the royal assent. I admit his Majesty can put a negative on it, but it is an undoubted prerogative of the crown rarely experienced, and odious to the people. Supposing the crown willing to put a negative, would it not be reducing the House to the absurdity of addressing his Majesty to withhold his assent from a bill we had ourselves approved, and sent up to the throne?

Mr. Molynex—The grant of 4000*l.* a year additional salary to the Lord Lieutenant is so often dragged by the head and shoulders into the debates of this House, that it becomes necessary for me to say something in its defence.

That measure daily meets a greater share of my approbation, in proportion as I the more consider it—insomuch that, were it yet undone, regardless of any thing that has been urged against it, I should be proud to father it. I would yet propose that resolution, which seems to give gentlemen so much uneasiness.—I stand here totally unconnected with administration—I did not on that occasion consult them—nor did they urge me forwards. I thought an addition of 4000*l.* a year to the Chief Governor's salary was necessary, in order to enable him to support the dignity of his situation, in the manner the honour of a great nation required; and conscious that I was actuated by no sinister views, I made a motion for the purpose. The motion was seconded by a very independent and respectable member. But if my character is attacked, I shall be found ready to defend it, both in the House and elsewhere. I took not the House by surprise—I gave sufficient notice—why did not they attend? Are they to come here only for their amusement? If the measure was wrong, they should have opposed it.

Mr. Grattan—The Hon. Gentleman who moved this address, is very right when he says, it is like the one I formerly had the honour to propose in this House, and only commendable or worthy of imitation; in its solicitation for a necessary and laudable retrenchment, I am inclined to the opinion of that Hon. Gentleman, that a retrenchment cannot be attained by a foolish reliance on ministers, but by the proper interference of this House, in instituting a minute detail, and a strict investigation of the articles of expenditure.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the affairs of this kingdom now wear a very different aspect from what they did when I had the honour of moving that address. The Hon. Gentleman says, "that the hope of retrenchment from the servants

of the crown, was then vain." I am sensible of the truth of the observation. The avenues to information were barred and obstructed; there was a total indisposition in ministers to stop the tide of prodigality. Economy was rejected, and opposition was given to the forming of any committee for pointing out such objects as required to be curtailed. An address at that time was a sort of a forlorn hope; an appeal from parliament to the throne. But how much more dignified is our present situation, without relying on our increasing revenue, and our greater hopes of revenue! Before the moving of this address we went into a committee, which was not moved for with a design to procrastinate, but to gain necessary information. Papers have been called for, which almost any administration would refuse, and when such papers are duly considered, some expedient may be devised, which may answer the intended purpose better than this address.

The military establishment, as already observed, is fixed for the ensuing year, and no doubt some considerable savings will be made in the military extraordinaries. The minister who strikes off 66,000*l.* at one time, deserves, in my opinion, some credit, as in that he does more than any one of his predecessors; and so far stands acquitted of the charge of prodigality.

I do not wish that gentlemen should run away with an opinion, that a committee is the grave of public business; for the whole business of the nation is done in committees. The commissioners have been mentioned, but I have reason to believe, that I shall have their support in the work of retrenchment.

There has been a charge brought against administration, for having promised that no new tax should be laid, and afterwards breaking that promise; but nothing has been done, but mere regulations of trade, calculated to favour our own manufactures; and these, as far as they operate, may be considered as protecting duties — the duties so ardently desired by the people.

Much has been said about the Lord Lieutenant's additional salary. I can only say, it has my warm disapprobation. The Right Hon. Gentleman (Attorney General) communicated to me the conversation he had the honour of holding with his Excellency on the occasion; but as I did not imagine that such a matter would be forced upon his Excellency against his will, I thought it unnecessary to come to the House, and therefore went to the country. But though I am certain of the honourable intentions of the gentleman who made the motion, yet I deem it a very silly act of prodigality.

Mr. Secretary *Pelham* assured the House of his sincere intention, to give every aid in his power to assist the committee to forward a plan of retrenchment.

Mr. *Crookshank* applauded the motives that he was confident induced the Hon. Gentleman to move for the address; that he was himself as warm an advocate as any man for retrenching the expences of government, as far as it was practicable, consistent with the dignity and the interest of the nation, and there was a time, he said, when such a motion as the present might have been made with great propriety—a time when government was running into every extravagance—when the revenue of the country was sinking under the expence, and under the impulse of a fettered constitution and a shackled commerce. But those times are no more, our constitution and our commerce are now free—our revenue has increased, is increasing, and likely to increase more—Did the Hon. Gentleman know that the duties and aids applicable to the loans and interest had increased in the last two years above 74,000*l.* and that the pension list which had been swelled above 100,000*l.* was then reduced to little more than 80,000*l.*—He called upon the Hon. Gentleman to point out in what instance the present administration had shewn an extravagance; that if there was none, as he was confident was the case, it would be ungenerous in the House to agree to a measure that would impress the idea, for neither the King nor the people would ever believe the commons would interfere without some cause. Government, like individuals, had their feelings; and who was the man, conscious of his own integrity and rectitude of conduct, that would not be hurt by a measure reflecting on that which he was most chaste in?—He would therefore vote against the address.

Sir *Edward Newenham*.—The Right Hon. Member who spoke last but two has so candidly committed himself to bring forward a plan of retrenchment in the civil list; and as I have a full reliance upon his integrity and assertion in this respect, I think the motion premature—we should first lay a plan of retrenchment, mark each specific article of extravagance, and then address his Majesty to remove the grievance complained of; let us have indisputable evidence to lay before the throne—but I cannot agree to this old hackneyed mode of getting rid of constitutional questions. Some Right Hon. Members, when they pretended to be warm in the cause of Ireland, reprobated that disgraceful mode of evading facts; but those men have passed the Rubicon—all Ireland will now join with me in saying,

Tigris agit rabida, cum Tigrida pacem.

I hope the Right Hon. Member (the Attorney General) will withdraw his previous question, and let the address be debated with candour, and not for ever sink us by his majorities.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* spoke for the address.

Mr. *Hartley* begged leave to take notice of some words that fell from a Right Hon. Gentleman (the Attorney General).—He

had said, that the distresses of the poor were more owing to their idleness and drunkenness, than to any other cause. If that Right Hon. Gentleman had paid as close attention to a committee as he had done, he would find that the cause was the great importation of manufactures into this country.

On the question being put, for going into the order of the day, it was carried in the affirmative, without a division.

Before the Speaker left the chair, Sir *Henry Cavendish* said, there was an illegal practice existed in the mode of king's letters, signed by the lords of the treasury: he had it in idea to have a bill framed, to disqualify every person but the Lord Lieutenant from paying money on king's letters.

The *Attorney General* said, that notwithstanding the king's sign manual, and that countersigned by the Lords of the treasury, a shilling could not be had without a warrant from the Lord Lieutenant: and therefore the Hon. Baronet might rest satisfied on that head.

The House went into a committee on the bill for establishing a high court of admiralty in this kingdom, Mr. Solicitor General in the chair. Went through the bill—Reported.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1783.

The House in committee, went through the bill to prevent bribery and corruption in electing members to serve in parliament.—Reported, and ordered to be engrossed.

The bill for relief of insolvent debtors, was read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

Several petitions from insolvents were presented, praying relief.—Ordered to lie on the table.

The House in a committee, went through the qualification bill.—Reported, and ordered to be engrossed.

Mr. *Alexander Montgomery* presented a petition from the furriers of the city of Dublin.—Referred to Mr. Gardiner's committee.

The admiralty bill, read, passed, and ordered to the Lords.

Captain Brooke's loan bill was read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

On a motion of Mr. Brooke, the clerk of the peace of the county of Tyrone was ordered to attend this House on Monday se'night.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1783.

Mr. *Dennis Daly*, chairman of the county Cork committee, reported that the Right Hon. Lord Kingborough was duly elected for said county.

A message from the Lords, that they agreed without any amendment, to the bill for facilitating the trade with America, the mutiny bill and small beer bill.

Mr. *Burton*, chairman of the county Westmeath committee, moved that Robert Sharman, Michael Daly, John Geoghegan, and two other persons, be ordered into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, for refusing to attend the said committee.—Ordered accordingly.

Captain *Burgh*.—There has occurred on the city of Cork petition, a most flagrant instance of direct perjury.—By order of the committee, I now report it to the House, for them to proceed in it as they shall think proper.—He then moved, that Thomas Millar should be brought to the bar of the House; which being done, he moved that the said Thomas Millar should be committed to the new jail.

Mr. *Chatterton* entreated the House, for the honour of the city of Cork, to proceed with as much rigour as the case would admit.

The *Speaker* called on Thomas Millar to make his defence—to which he replied that he confessed his fault, and threw himself on the House for forgiveness.

No person interceding for him, he was sent to jail.

A new writ was ordered for the borough of Bangor.

Mr. *Chatterton*.—As there will be several petitions received from persons soliciting the benefit of the act of grace, who perhaps are not at this instant in custody, and whom it was not the intention of the proposers to exclude, I shall move you, that the committee of the whole House to whom the bill is referred, shall have permission to admit a clause to that purpose.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* moved an amendment—"which persons are now actually residing in the kingdom;"—this, he said, was to prevent any persons from being able to surprise their creditors.—Ordered accordingly.

Sir *Henry Hartstonge* moved, that all persons soliciting the benefit of the act, should be considered as paupers, and excused fees.—Ordered.

Mr. *Toler* reported from the committee appointed to try the Baltimore election, that Arthur Gore, commonly called Lord Sudley, was duly elected for the borough of Baltimore; that

Arthur Gore, commonly called Lord Sudley, should have been duly returned ;—that Richard Longfield, Esq; was duly elected for the borough of Baltimore ; that Richard Longfield, Esq; should have been duly returned.

He said, the committee had likewise come to the following resolution : “ That James Freke, the returning officer, had been guilty of gross misbehaviour, and a flagrant breach of the duty of his office, by giving various unnecessary delays, and by absenting himself without making a proper return.” Mr. *Toler* then moved, that James Freke be ordered to attend at the bar of the House to-morrow.—Ordered.—He then moved, that a new writ be issued for the borough of Donegall.—Ordered.

The House, according to order, resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the petition of the company of undertakers of the grand canal, together with the report thereupon ; and after some time spent therein Mr. Speaker resumed the chair, and Mr. *Burgh* (of Harristown) reported from the committee that they had made some progress in the matter to them referred, and that he was directed to move the House for leave to sit again.

Resolved, that this House will, to-morrow morning, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into further consideration the petition of the company of undertakers of the grand canal, together with the report thereupon.

Sir *John Blaquiere*—The committee now sees that to complete this great national undertaking, it will be necessary to grant to the company the nation's credit or name for 50,000*l.* which the company will repay in ten years, in the mean time paying regularly the interest, and giving ample security for the principal. As the welfare of the country is at stake, as there can scarcely come before the House an object of greater importance, I trust this humble and reasonable petition will be complied with. I am sure gentlemen must be so well convinced of the advantages which those nations enjoy which possess canals, that it will not be necessary for me to expatiate on them. The great empire of China is intersected with innumerable canals in every direction. Holland derives no small portion of her wealth from her canals—England feels the advantage of hers very sensibly—In France there is not only a canal from the Mediterranean to the ocean, but a very considerable one from the Seine into the interior country. In every commercial country, their advantages are obvious, for as almost all the raw materials of trade, and almost all the necessities of life are so enormously enhanced by the expence of a long land carriage, that such carriage is a tax that hardly any commodity can bear; so by a canal, where two men and one horse can effect the work of forty men and an hundred horses, the price of carriage is reduced to almost nothing, and the distance from

materials and necessaries becomes an object of no concern; as they can be brought to every man's door at an easy expence. Accordingly, as I said, every nation where commerce flourishes, has its canals, except local circumstances forbid, and perhaps the want of this method of conveyance may be the reason why manufactures do not thrive in Spain.

You have begun an inland navigation in Ireland, and it would be an insult to this nation, to suppose that you cannot have it completed, and the country put in a situation to derive every benefit from such a useful undertaking, when these works have been executed with effect in every other country.

There have been expended very considerable sums in carrying on this undertaking; but owing to errors in the original plan, and the insufficiency of those who had the management and conducting of the works, it is not finished; and if proper persons had been appointed to direct the expenditure of the money, the locks and bridges might have been completed for half the money they cost. When this canal is completed, we can bring corn and merchandize from the county Longford, King and Queen's Counties, and counties of Carlow and Kildare; and coals from Lough Allen and Castlemartyr. In the articles of oats, timber, slates, bricks, and potatoes, there would be savings to the consumer in Dublin of upwards of 40 per cent. There are other great advantages in having this work finished; it would increase the land interest, encourage agriculture and tillage, and promote the improvement of the country for an extent of upwards of forty miles. On the whole, it is proposed to receive 15,000*l.* and not receive any more, till 10,000*l.* part of the 15,000*l.* are fully accounted for; and I shall offer such security on the part of the company, as may be approved of. He then moved the following resolution: "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the sum of 50,000*l.* be issued in treasury bills to the company of the grand canal; 15,000*l.* in the first instance, and two-thirds of that sum to be accounted for before any further sum be issued; and that the said company shall give such security as shall be required by parliament.

The committee proceeded to the examination of Mr. Evans, engineer, and Mr. Macartney.

It appeared in the course of Mr. Evans's examination, that Mr. Smeyton's estimate for cutting through the hill of Downing's was 13,000*l.* that Mr. Trail's estimate was 16,000*l.* though the work cost but 8,500*l.*

Mr. Evans in his examination said, that many errors were committed by those who had the conducting of the work, before he was engaged, but that it was now in a fair way of answering many great and useful purposes, and that in a few years the revenue to the company will be 12,000*l.* a year.

He then gave an account what sums were necessary for bringing the canal to particular places, the situation of those places; that if money enough was granted, the Shannon line and canal might be carried on together: that Kilkenny collieries are not properly worked; described the situation of Lough Allen collieries, that the coals are as good as Whitehaven coals, would be worth about 4s. 6d. per ton, that there is excellent potters clay, that there are iron mines there, that there are two passage boats that would go in ten hours and a half from Monaster-even. He then entered into the mode of proceeding with the canal, how many men might be employed at the same time, that there were from 15 to 20 miles upon one level.

Mr. *Scott* then wished to postpone the business until to-morrow.

Sir *John Blaquiere* said, that the best mode to expedite the business, was first to examine the witnesses.

Mr. *Evans* then described the difficulties. He gave his estimate of making of a new line to Athy from Dublin, which would cost 120,000*l.* supposing it to take in all the towns near it.

General *Cunningham* enquired into the number of locks on the canal, what tolls they brought in, and what would be the expence of keeping them in repair; he was answered, that there are eighteen locks, that it would take seven locks more to bring it to Athy, that there are lime-stone quarries almost the whole way.

The witness was asked by Mr. *Holmes*, if he was a monied man, whether he would advance 50,000*l.* upon the work? He said he would, for the difficulties which once discouraged people, are now removed.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* wished to know if there was any reason for saying that all the goods in future would be carried by the canal, when so many strings of cars are continually going on the sides of the canal with goods?—He was answered, that since the locks have been finished, the cars have not plied so much; this proved a futile question; because boats for freight were appointed yesterday.

Mr. *Evans* was then examined by Mr. *Fitzgibbon*, as to the tolls; from whence it appeared, that merchants goods and grain would pay 2d. per ton carriage for three miles, and 6d. per ton for tolls for three miles; that the tolls from Athy to Dublin would bring in 15,000*l.* per annum.

One of the members wishing to postpone the business, Sir *John Blaquiere* begged to continue the examination of witnesses.

Mr. *Macartney* was next examined, and gave so clear and satisfactory an account, that Sir *John Blaquiere* and the other gentlemen of the committee, thought it unnecessary to examine any further evidence from Mr. *Macartney*—It appeared that in the short distance between Dublin and Monaster-even, land carriage was 1*l.* 2*s.* 6d.

per ton; water-carriage 6s. 8d. — That in England, where he went for the purpose of making himself master of the subject of canals, immense benefits are every day derived from them as well to the public as private persons. In several canal companies, stock sells for a thousand per cent. advance, which must necessarily happen, from the wonderful reduction they make in the price of carriage, and the consequent trade that is carried on—an instance of this happened at Birmingham, where a cut was lately made; the day before that cut was opened, coals sold for 1 rd. per ct. wt. and the following day they fell to 4d. and have sold ever since at that rate.

Mr. *Foster*, who declared himself a friend to the undertaking, as of great national concern, examined Mr. Macartney as to the charge of carriage, and as to the nature of the security which the company offered for the nation's name to raise the sum in question, and concluded with desiring to know, whether if 50,000*l.* in debentures, should now be granted, the company would at the end of twelve years engage to bring debentures for that sum into the public treasury, under pain of losing their charter.

To the first enquiry, Mr. Macartney answered, that the charges on this canal were as low as the lowest in England; that of 8d. per ton, which was the charge of every three miles, 6d. was the lockage or tollage, the remaining 2d. only going to the carrier. As to the latter enquiry, he said he would, in case the nation lent its name to the company for the sum required, consider the charter as mortgaged for the re-payment, and doubted not, always to find the House a court of equity.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1783.

The House in a committee on the petition of the grand canal undertakers.

Sir *John Blaquiere* supported the petition with uncommon zeal, and a great deal of argument, and called upon the House for its aid towards this undertaking, as a matter of great national advantage.

Mr. *Pelham* said, he understood that the noblemen and gentlemen who had been last night mentioned, were to be sureties, in their personal fortunes and estates for the 50,000*l.* Under such circumstances, it was to him some matter of surprize, that they came to parliament to look for money, they could otherwise get so easily. His reason for objecting to the money being issued in treasury bills, arose from government having already raised 300,000*l.* in that manner; and if so large an addition was made

to the loan, it might lay them under the necessity of having recourse to lotteries, and other disagreeable expensive measures. He thought it very incumbent on the House, to ascertain carefully the nature of the security, before the loan should be granted, as it was insinuated that the noblemen and gentlemen, who had been mentioned as security, did not hold themselves responsible for the payment of either principal or interest.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* supported his opposition in the same manner of the former night. It was, he said, a manifest job. No security had been offered by the company which could be approved of, for the money they wanted to borrow. The House should at once grant the money as a gift, if they thought the canal a grand national object. Would they suffer themselves to be bubbled with an imaginary security of wind and water, and bridges, and flood-gates?

Mr. *Foster*, after declaring his friendly sentiments for the continuance of the canal, thought the present grant sought for, went only to a waste of the public money, if very proper security was not given. The sum voted to Captain Brooke had been well secured; and the same was reasonably to be expected from the undertakers of the canal, not only for the repayment of the money, but for the execution of the work. He thought the lockage was charged too high, and on this account, he would move three amendments to the resolution for granting the company 50,000*l.* as a loan: First, That the company shall bind themselves to complete the work to the Shannon, by the just expenditure of the said loan: Second, To enter into security for the repayment of the same: And, Third, To oblige the company to reduce their tolls to one half. The sum of 150,000*l.* had been already expended by the nation in carrying on this work, and the public should derive some advantage therefrom.—No objection was made to the first amendment. By the assistance of the encreasing revenue, and the aid of parliament, the work might, he said, be very well finished. On moving the second amendment, a debate ensued, and, among others, Mr. *Fitzgibbon* positively insisted, that such very ample and unequivocal security should be given, as should be approved by a Baron of the Exchequer, on the stating of the Attorney General.

The *Prime Serjeant* said, the Barons of the Exchequer, who, by rules of court, were bound not to receive any security, but substantial, real, or personal property, might not deem the security, that appeared to the House, fully sufficient.—He thought it would be ungenerous and unbecoming the House to take advantage of men who had expended above 90,000*l.* of their property, when they offered the work, on which that sum had been expended, as a pledge for the due performance of their engagement.—He said, it was well known that the price of the com-

pany's stock was every day rising—from almost nothing, it was worth 55*l.* per cent, and if the House would consent to a loan, as desired, the stock, he was certain, would to-morrow be at par. All the most difficult parts of the work had been conquered, and those difficulties, which had proved so very expensive to the company, had been incurred by their being obliged to adhere to the errors that parliament, the former managers, had imposed on them.—One and twenty miles of the canal were already completed—in a year it would be finished to Monasterevan—the company would then have a revenue of 5000*l.* per annum, which sum would, from thenceforward, rapidly increase.

Mr. *Beresford*, jun. thought it impolitic, first to make the company give security for the loan, and then to cut off half the tolls; in consequence of which, their property would be diminished one half at least, and this of course, would be destroying half the security.

Mr. *Harley* said, he did not believe it was in the power of parliament to take one half of that property, which the company held under the faith of parliament. But if parliament had the power to commit such an act of injustice, he hoped it would never be committed. He had no objection to the equal security of the money, and compelling the performance of the work, but he could not agree that they should be robbed of half their property.

Mr. *Molyneux*, Mr. *Ogle*, Captain *Burgh*, General *Canningham*, and Mr. *Newil*, spoke to the same effect.

The *Speaker* was for reducing the tolls, as were Mr. *Fitzgibbon*, Mr. *Foster*, Mr. *Daly*, and Mr. *Bulke*.

Mr. *Foster's* first amendment was carried without a division. The second amendment, altered by the Prime Serjeant, was also carried the same way; but, on a division on the third for reducing the tolls, the numbers were,

Ayes,	—	—	56
Noes,	—	—	83

And then it was agreed, that the company do receive in debentures for twelve years, a loan of 50,000*l.* paying interest, and giving ample security to make a faithful return of the same sum at the end of that time in debentures. The company were also, to give security for the performance of the work, but no reduction of the tolls, which are secured by act of parliament, and at the company's discretion.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER, 13, 1783.

The House pursuant to order, sat in committee, on Mr. Brooke's loan bill; it being gone through, and the Speaker having refused the chair, the same was ordered to be reported on Monday.

Mr. *Bennet* reported from the committee of the whole House, appointed to take into consideration the report from the committee on the petition from the undertakers of the grand canal, that they had agreed to certain resolutions, which being read, viz.

“ That the sum of 50,000*l.* be issued in debentures, bearing such interest as other debentures, as a loan to the company of undertakers of the grand canal, to be repaid by said company in the year 1796, together with the interests; provided that no greater sum than 15,000*l.* of them be issued until it shall appear to the satisfaction of the commissioners of accounts, that the sum of 10,000*l.* has been actually expended thereof, on said company's works; the company giving such security for the payment, as the Barons of the Exchequer shall deem reasonable.”

Mr. *Foster* said, that he had last night made a motion for an amendment to this resolution, to secure the public in general, and the city of Dublin in particular, against the exorbitant tolls of this navigation; his motion had been then negatived, but he since had some conversations with gentlemen who had opposed him, and they had acceded to his opinion; he therefore moved as an amendment,

“ Provided that as soon as the said navigation shall be completed, and the borrowed money repaid, the tolls exacted shall be only three halfpence a ton per mile.”

Mr. *Lodge Morres* said, that he had no objection whatever to the amendment passing, but thought it unnecessary, as the law already prevented their raising the toll above 2*d.* a ton, and the company declared they were satisfied with 1½*d.* he therefore thought it very hard that their hands should be tied up for nothing.

The amendment was agreed to, as was the resolution so amended, without a division.

Sir *John Blaquier* then moved for leave to bring in a bill pursuant to the resolution.—Granted accordingly.

Capt. *Burgh* moved, that several persons, (whose names were read) should be put in custody of the Serjeant at Arms, for not attending the Cork petition, pursuant to their summons.—Ordered.

Sir *John Blaquier*—I rise to make a motion of course, but cannot help observing, that had I been in the House some minutes sooner, I should have opposed a resolution which has passed relative to the canal tolls; not that the resolution is in itself a bad one, but that I think the restriction a precedent dangerous to private property. I move for leave to bring in a bill, pursuant to a resolution of last night, respecting the canal company.—Ordered.

A letter was read from Mr. *Smyth*, (the petitioner against the sitting members for Westmeath) to Thomas Reynolds, desiring

his attendance in Dublin, to support a vote he had given at the Westmeath election; and a complaint made to the House, that Mr. Smyth refused to defray Reynolds's expence, urging that the letter was a summons, not a notice.

Hon. *John Bourke* said, it was not a legal notice, for that is always signed either by the Speaker or the chairman of the committee; and therefore thought the man was not entitled to any thing.

Mr. *Ogle* and Mr. *Brownlow* declaring that Mr. Smyth had no objection to pay the man his expences, the affair dropt.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* gave notice, that on Monday next he would offer to the House a resolution, purporting that they would grant no more money by way of loan this session.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1783.

Mr. *Burton*, chairman of the Westmeath committee, informed the House, that on account of the absence of Mr. Uniacke and Mr. Welden, two members of the committee, they had been unable to proceed, but had adjourned, as the act prescribed.

Evidence was then brought to the bar to prove that Mr. Uniacke was prevented from attending, on account of the death of his mother, and Mr. Welden's servant proved his master was confined by illness.

The excuses were admitted.

Mr. *Burton* then asked leave to proceed, dispensing with the attendance of Mr. Uniacke and Mr. Welden.

This was objected to by Lord Delvin, Mr. Green, and Mr. Fitzgibbon.

Lord *Delvin* said, that the petition had already invalidated as many votes, as reduced the sitting member to an equality with him; that to proceed without the assistance of the two gentlemen who had heard the evidence on which those votes had been struck off, might greatly injure the petitioner, who might have all his trouble to begin anew, for which he was not so well qualified as the sitting member, not having so long a purse.

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* and Mr. *Malone*, the sitting member, were for proceeding.

Mr. *Malone* said, that procrastination would be much more injurious to him, than even to the petitioner; for though perhaps he had a longer purse than his antagonist, of which he was neither proud nor ashamed, yet all his expences must be drawn from his own purse, which was not the case of the petitioner; besides, as he never yet had an opportunity of going into his defence, those

ill impressions which the opposite council had made, might sink too deeply into the minds of those judges.

The House came to no determination on the business, leaving it to the sitting member and the petitioner to settle.

Mr. *Belton* moved for leave to bring in a bill for regulating the corn trade.—Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time after the Christmas recess; and the bill to be printed.

Mr. *David Latouche* moved, that the several officers belonging to the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer, be ordered to make a return of all the monies lodged in their hands, pursuant to order of court.—Ordered accordingly.

Mr. Brooke's loan bill reported, agreed to, and ordered to be engrossed.

Mr. *Coote* moved for leave for empowering the committee of the House, on the bill for registering freeholds, to increase the salary of the treasurer of the King's County; it was opposed by

Sir *Henry Cavendish*.—And the question being put,

For the motion	—	—	20
Against it	—	—	47

Sir *Henry* then observed, that a like clause was surreptitiously stole in on a former night, for increasing the salary of the county Down treasurer. He moved the order to be read, and when read, moved it should be discharged.

Mr. *Annesley* defended the clause, as he was the proposer of it. He denied its being brought in surreptitiously. By the bill lately brought in, the treasurers of the counties were liable to more than usual trouble, and the pittance of an additional 20*l.* a year to their salary, fell far short of a reward for this additional trouble. The clause mentioned that the sum should not exceed 60*l.* a year for the county Down treasurer.

Colonel *Ross* supported Mr. *Annesley*, and a division having ensued, there appeared, to discharge the order,

Ayes	—	—	20
Noes	—	—	82

Mr. *Brownlow* moved, that Sir H. Hartstonge have leave of absence for ten days; but his friends through humour having opposed it, after some laugh it was agreed to. Sir H. Hartstonge pays the closest attendance, perhaps, of any gentleman that ever attended parliament.

Mr. *Marcus Beresford* moved for leave to bring in a bill for building a court-house and gaol in the city of Waterford. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

Mr. *Gardiner* said, that on consulting with a number of gentlemen who were friends to the measures he proposed, respecting the manufactures of this country, they were of opinion it was better to defer their report from the committee appointed to take

the manufactures of this country into their consideration, and what was best for their relief, until after the recess, a time which he confessed was indeterminate, as administration had not yet mentioned its duration.

Mr. *Pelham* said, that in order to satisfy the Right Hon. Gentleman on that head, he should move the meeting of the House after the recess, to be on the 27th of January.

Mr. *Curren* said, that he should on to-morrow move some resolutions relative to the framing of money-bills, to prevent in future the admission of extraneous matter therein.

Mr. *O'Hara* moved, to go into the order of the day on the bill for registering freeholds.

Mr. *Chatterton* observed, the present election laws were imperfect, and required a more mature digestion. The bill moved for was of great consequence. Every assistance in his power would be given to the bill, but he begged postponing it till after the recess.

The *Provoost* acknowledged that the present election laws were grossly defective. He had seen the bill proposed by the Hon. Gentleman, but he thought it admitted of great improvement. The election laws required great reformation; a system was required, which went to the full remedy of their defects. The last election proved how highly necessary a reformation was in those laws. For the sake of the morality and the industry of the country, it should be done. Whatever little experience he had, should be employed to that purpose. He therefore begged the consideration of it would be deferred till after the recess.

Mr. *O'Hara* withdrew his motion, and the bill was committed for the second Monday after the Christmas recess.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1783.

The committee of trade sat, and made some progress, after which the House resumed.

Mr. *Burton* moved that the committee for trying the merits of a petition complaining of an undue election and return for the county of Westmeath, do adjourn to the 28th of January next.

Agreed to.

The qualification bill and Mr. Brooke's bill read.

Sir *Edward Newenham* said, every hour and every transaction, convinced him more and more, that the people must lose all confidence in parliament, unless some measure was taken to render parliament more chaste and independent, therefore, moved, for leave to bring in a bill for securing the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of placemen (and excluding all pensioners

from sitting) in the House of Commons. Leave was granted, and Sir Edward Newenham, Gorges Lowther, and Edward Crofton, Esqrs. were appointed to bring in the bill.

Mr. Curren—While I reflect that the motion I am now going to make is of the utmost importance to the honour, and even existence of this House, and that I have given full notice of my intention, I am much surprised at the little regard that seems intended to be paid to it, as is manifest from the emptiness of those benches—this, Sir, is not a question of party; I am no party man, I despise the principle; I never did, nor ever will attach myself to party, and though I mean to move the resolution from this side of the House, yet it concerns both sides equally; it goes to assert the privileges of the people of Ireland represented in this House of Commons, and I say every party, and every description of men in this House is equally concerned in supporting it. I say it is the sole and exclusive right of the Commons of Ireland to originate and frame money bills in such manner as they shall think proper, and the resolution I intend to propose, is only to vindicate this privilege from the encroachments of a neighbouring assembly, which has lately, by certain resolutions, invaded this right, this palladium of the constitution, which I trust every man in the House will think himself bound to defend.

I am sorry to say that the constitution of Ireland is so young, that I need not go back to a very remote period, to prove that the exclusive right of originating and framing money bills, has always resided in this House; but for thirty years back, it certainly has, and in England, from whence we derive our constitution, it always has been the practice. The peers and the crown possess an undoubted right of rejecting such bills *in toto*, but, in the Commons alone resides the power of originating or framing them; the very mode of giving the royal assent to such bills, demonstrates that the Commons alone are the source from which they flow. His Majesty thanks his faithful Commons, accepts their benevolence, and wills it to be so, and this mode obtains both in Britain and here. To whom should the people of Ireland look for the redress of grievances, for the encouragement of arts, for the promotion of commerce, but to their representatives in this House? What powerful engine has this House, by which it can obtain the redress of grievances, the encouragement of arts, or the promotion of commerce, but by including those objects in the bill of supply? And if the right be once given up, or wrested from the Commons, they cease to be the patrons and representatives of the people; another assembly will assume that power, and the people will learn to look for that encouragement and support from the aristocratic, which they now receive from the democratic branch of the state, and this House will become a very cypher, and its members, instead of possessing the

power of encouraging arts, rewarding merit, or in a word, of serving the country, will become the humble solicitors of another assembly.

From the reign of Henry the Third, the power of annexing the redress of grievances to money bills, has been the constitutional privilege of the Commons of England; the practice of inserting such clauses as the Commons have deemed proper, has obtained in Ireland for more than thirty years, and to any person acquainted with our constitution, must at the slightest view, appear to be their inherent right: I cannot therefore suppose this House will be silent when this privilege is invaded by another assembly; no man entertains an higher opinion of that assembly than I do, and I am persuaded that so great is their Lordships wisdom, that when this matter is duly considered by them, they will see the impropriety of two resolutions which appear upon their journals of the fourth and fifth of the present month, to this effect, "That all grants made to private manufacturers, ought to be made in separate acts, and that enacting clauses in bills of supply, the matter of which is foreign to the bill, is unparliamentary, and tends to destroy the constitution of this kingdom." That the illustrious assembly to which I allude, has passed such a resolution, is notorious, and cannot be denied, it is inserted in their journals, and has been seen by many members of this House; the formality therefore of appointing a committee to inspect their Lordships journals is unnecessary, and all that remains for the Commons, is to vindicate their own privileges by a mild and temperate resolution which I shall propose to the House, for even admitting that sometimes an House of Commons has erred in making improper grants, we should rather reform ourselves, and determine not to err again, than submit to have a monitor over us.

If I was addressing an House of Commons, the most virtuous or the most corrupt, I should expect to be supported in this measure; for I would say to a virtuous House of Commons, the privilege of originating and framing money bills is the palladium of your liberty, the great engine to restrain oppression, to redress grievances, or to encourage merit. I would say to a corrupt House of Commons, it is the palladium of your corruption, the security of the wages of your venality, the means by which you may obtain the reward of your prostitution; or if I was addressing an House containing both descriptions, both kinds of argument would be applicable. But to the House before which I stand, surely the arguments which I have first used, the arguments of virtue and of honour will be sufficient; to them therefore I shall trust.

I lament that a learned and Right Honourable Member, with whom I once had the happiness of living on terms of friendship, is

now absent; because I think I might rely upon his supporting the resolution I intend to propose; that support would perhaps renew the intercourse of our friendship, which has lately been interrupted. And I must beg the indulgence of the House to say, that that friendship was upon the footing of perfect equality, not imposed by obligation on the one side, or bound by gratitude on the other; for I thank God, when that friendship commenced, I was above receiving obligation from any man, and therefore our friendship, as it was more pure and disinterested, as it depended on a sympathy of minds and congeniality of sentiments, I trusted would have endured the longer. I think myself bound to make this public declaration, as it has gone forth from this House, that I am a man of ingratitude, and to declare, that for any difference of opinion with my learned and Right Honourable Friend, I cannot be taxed with ingratitude; for that I never received any obligation from him, but lived on a footing of perfect equality, save only so far as his great talents and erudition outwent mine.

I confess my obligation to the House for this indulgence of speaking a few words foreign to the debate, but which every man must think I owed to my own character; and that I may detain gentlemen no longer, I shall briefly move,

“That it is the sole and undoubted privilege of the Commons of Ireland to originate all bills of supply and grants of public money, in such manner and with such clauses as they shall think proper.”

Mr. Parsons seconded the motion.

Sir Hercules Langrishe.—I cannot see, even admitting that the resolutions of the Lords are as the Honourable Member has quoted them, that they at all infringe the privileges of this House; the resolutions only go to the regulations of their own proceedings; they do not even insinuate an attempt to restrain our power; they do not say that we have not the exclusive privilege of originating and framing these bills, they merely determine to regulate their own proceedings; they wish that the different articles which we generally introduce into our bills of supply, should each stand separately, and on its own merit. As to tacking matters of importance to money bills, I think on very great occasions the practice is right, but it should not be prostituted to trifles.

Mr. Molynaux.—I will not strive to engage this House in a quarrel, when nothing can be gained by the issue. Allusions are every day made in this House, to the resolution I had the honour of proposing for increasing the salary of the Lord Lieutenant, but I cannot think that to spend 4000*l.* a year amongst the starving artificers of this city, can be injurious to the community.

Sir Henry Cavendish said there was no instance of such a resolution being negatived. I do not exactly know what the Lords have done, but if their resolutions be such as have been reported, if we are charged with acting in an unparliamentary manner, and tending to destroy the constitution, we are bound to refute the charge.

Mr. Hussey supported the exclusive right of the people to dispose of their own money by their representatives. He maintained that no other branch of the legislature had any right to interfere, except to reject the bills of supply *in toto*; and thought the House called upon to resist every invasion of this right, which, as representatives and trustees of the people, they were bound to watch with a cautious jealousy.

Mr. Mason desired to know whether the learned gentleman had any other resolutions to follow that which he now offered; but Mr. Curren avoiding this question, Mr. Mason declared that such conduct was utterly inconsistent with parliamentary candour, and that he would vote against the resolution on that ground.

It is, said he, so easy and so common a thing, to paint the situation of the country as ruined, and the members of this House as deserting their station, that the people never believe any evil now which they do not feel, nor will it be possible for all the eloquence of the learned gentleman to persuade them they are ruined, while they feel themselves prosperous and happy; as to the matter now before the House, as it does not affect them, I am convinced they will not concern themselves with it.

The best way to assert the privileges of this House, and to maintain our right of disposing of the public money, is to proceed as we have hitherto done, to frame our money bills according to our own pleasure, without taking any notice of their lordships' resolutions, who may indeed reject our bills, but cannot alter them.

Sir Henry Cavendish recommended the mode of appointing a committee to examine the journals.

The *Protest* said, that money bills originating in the House of Commons, was an acknowledged principle of the constitution—but though he doubted not in the least of what the Honourable Member had advanced, yet was there any evidence before the House to prove the existence of these resolutions?—The parliamentary mode was, as had been justly remarked by an Honourable Baronet (Sir Henry Cavendish) that a committee should be appointed to inspect the journals, and on the report of the committee, the House may come to whatever resolution it thinks necessary;—this is the constitutional mode of convincing their lordships they are wrong—but you are in possession of parliamentary evidence, that the House of Lords has not deviated from a practice of fifty years past, for we have sent up a money-bill to that

House, with clauses annexed, yet the bill has come without any amendment. He said it was not usual in England to tack clauses to a bill of supply, and as he did not see the necessity of passing the resolution, he would propose an amendment—that, after the word resolved, the following words should be inserted, —“ that it appears to this House, it is not now necessary to declare.”

Mr. *Brownlow* said, we should not take notice of what passed in another assembly: If in the next session any infringement should be made on the privilege of this House, it would be time then to take it up; at present he saw no necessity for coming to the resolution:—The amendment then passed, and on the question being put for agreeing to the resolution,

Ayes,	—	—	11
Noes,	—	—	68

Mr. *Curren* said, he would have this business stand over till after the recess, and in the mean time moved the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inspect the journals of the House of Lords, and to report what resolutions were entered on them the 4th and 5th of this month.

This resolution was opposed by Mr. *Molynux*, Honourable Mr. *Brown*, Sir *Edward Newenham*, Right Honourable *John Hely Hutchinson*, and Mr. *Brownlow*, on the ground of its not being necessary at this time.

It was supported by Sir *Henry Cavendish*, and Mr. *Brown*, as agreeable to the usage of parliament, to appoint committees to inspect the journals.

Mr. *Curren* spoke again.—An amendment was proposed, which being agreed to, the resolution so amended was put, when there appeared

Ayes,	—	—	11
Noes,	—	—	40

Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. *Curren* and Mr. *Brown*.

Tellers for the Noes, Mr. *Mason* and Mr. *Langrishe*.

Several petitions from and against insolvent debtors received.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1783.

Several petitions from insolvent debtors were presented, read, and ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. *Gardiner* moved that the petition of the factors and others concerned in the exportation of linen yarn, be referred to the committee of trade.—Ordered accordingly.

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He likewise moved that the books of entries, inwards and outwards, be referred to the same committee.—Ordered accordingly.

Mr. *Holmes* reported from the committee appointed to examine the state of the goals of this kingdom.—Report ordered to lie on the table.

A message from the Lords, that they had agreed, without any alteration, to the bill for preventing bribery and corruption at elections for members to serve in parliament; and that they had made some alteration in the bill for establishing an high court of admiralty in Ireland.

A private bill read.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* presented a petition from J. Faris.—Ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. *Annesley* complained of the defective manner in which the city is lighted, and of the shameful remissness of our nocturnal guards, to support which extravagant sums were annually levied on the public. He moved that the proper officer do lay before the House an account of what sums have been received for watch money, and what number of watchmen have been employed; and also what sums have been paid to them, for the last seven years.

Ordered also, that the proper officer do lay before the House, the amount of the tax paid for lighting the public lamps for seven years last past.

He then gave notice that after the recess, he would enter into an investigation of the paving business.

On a motion of Mr. *Molyneux*, ordered that the proper officer do lay before the House, an account of the sums that have been disbursed for lighting the lamps before the parliament house, for seven years last past.

The order of the day being read for the committee on the insolvent bill,

Mr. *Browne* (of Trinity College) moved, that it be an instruction to the committee to whom the insolvent bill is referred, to receive a clause in favour of Hugh Kennedy.

Lord *Delvin* and Mr. *Chatterton* objected to receiving clauses, as the bill might be endangered by the number of applications that would be made. They declared that they were ready to support any bill introduced for the relief of persons who were not in actual custody.

On the question being put there appeared,

For agreeing to the clause,	—	35
Against it,	—	36

Majority	—	1
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The House resolved into a committee on the insolvent bill, which being gone through and agreed upon, the report was ordered to be received.

The House adjourned till Saturday.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1783.

Petitions from and against several insolvent debtors were received.

Lord *Delvin* moved that all those sheriffs who had omitted to return lists of the debtors in actual custody, on the 10th of November last, do attend this House on the first Wednesday after the recess.

The *Provost* said, that the particular sheriffs should be named, and not ordered to attend under general descriptions; he therefore moved that the persons who were to attend, be specified by name.—The Honourable and learned Gentleman gave notice that he should, at a future time, move, that the sum of four shillings per day, allowed to witnesses to attend committees, was not a sufficient allowance to persons who were under the necessity of coming many miles to attend them; some of whom had been detained in town several weeks, to the prejudice of their affairs.

Lord *Delvin* said, that many sheriffs had been repeatedly ordered to make returns to the House, of the persons in actual custody on the 10th of November, which order had not been complied with. His lordship gave in to the House a list of such as had neglected complying with this order.

Petitions from the linen drapers of the counties of Leitrim and Londonderry, respecting the exportation of linen yarn, were received, and referred to a committee.

The Right Honourable Mr. Secretary *Pelham* informed the House, that he was commanded by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to acquaint them that his Majesty has been pleased to return a most gracious answer to the address of this House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, and the same was read by Mr. Speaker (all the members being uncovered) and is as followeth :

“GEORGE R.

“His Majesty returns his hearty thanks to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, for their dutiful and loyal address: His Majesty receives with the highest satisfaction the sentiments expressed by his parliament respecting his Majesty’s government; and his Majesty’s faithful parliament may rest assured of his Majesty’s determined resolution to concur

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with them at all times in the maintenance and preservation of that free and excellent constitution, on which the happiness and interests of his people of Ireland so essentially depend.

“ G. R.”

Ordered, That his Majesty's most gracious answer be entered on the journals of this House.

Mr. Conolly moved that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to thank him for his most gracious answer to the address of this House.

Mr. Gardiner seconded the motion.

Agreed to, *nemine contradicente*.

Ordered, That such members as are of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, do attend his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant with the said address.

The ingrossed bill for regulating the court of admiralty in this kingdom, was received from the Lords, in which it appeared, that that House had resolved on the following amendment, which they submitted to the Commons for their concurrence:

“ Provided, always, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in parliament assembled, to remove such judge, by an address of both Houses of parliament, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.”

On the question being put, whether this House doth agree to said amendment, it passed in the affirmative.—Ordered to the Lords.

Sir John Blaquiere said, that some doubts having arisen with respect to the bill relative to the loan for the grand canal, he should postpone bringing in said bill 'till after the recess.

Mr. Burton moved, that the petitioner or his agent, on the petition complaining of an undue election and return for the county of Westmeath, do furnish lists of the voters and the objections to them.—Ordered.

Mr. Foster presented a petition from Mr. Montgomery and Edward Price, creditors of Dr. Tunnadine; and also a petition from the said Dr. Tunnadine.—Both petitions referred to a committee.

Mr. Lowther presented a petition from an insolvent debtor, who was not in actual custody on the 10th of November, but out upon security being given to the marshal.

Mr. Dexter attended at the bar pursuant to order. He mentioned several persons who were in custody on mesne process, but had been by him permitted to go out of the marshalsea on

security being given to indemnify him to the amount of the debts they were severally charged with.

Ordered that the committee on the insolvent bill be empowered to receive a clause to extend the benefit of said act to such persons as were proper objects and conformed to the terms of the act, notwithstanding they were out upon bail on said 10th of November.

A motion was made to extend the benefit of said bill to a late treasurer of a county, a bankrupt now in custody.

Referred to the committee.

Committee of the whole House on the bill of insolvency, Lord Delvin in the chair.

The *Provost* moved that the names of all debtors be annexed in a schedule to said bill, in order that creditors may know who are to have the benefit of said act.

Mr. *Chatterton* thought this unnecessary: He gave notice that he should, immediately after the recess, bring in a bill for the relief of persons not in actual custody on the 10th of November.

Mr. *Green* moved, that a clause should be inserted not to extend it to bankrupts who have not obtained certificates, and mentioned one person who he meant to exclude.

Right Hon. Mr. *Scott* said, it would not be consistent with the humanity of the House, to exclude any person by name.

Mr. *Molyneux* said, that the person alluded to had been many years in confinement; had a wife and five children, had given up all his effects to his creditors, and had nothing left to subsist on.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon* said, he did not know him, but he had been recommended to him as a proper object. He reprobated the idea of excluding him by name from the benefit of a general act, when he had not been heard in his own defence.

Mr. *Kelly* said, that it appeared that the man alluded to had given up all his effects, and therefore was not an improper object for the benefit of this act.

Mr. *Annesley* spoke against the general principles of the bankruptcy laws—which, he said, were universally and justly reprobated—He instanced persons who had in consequence paid but 15*d.* in the pound—He concluded with moving that one of the clauses in the present bill, relative to bankrupts, be expunged.

On the question being put, it passed in the affirmative.—House refused.

The committee reported some progress, and obtained leave to sit again.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1783.

A message from his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, by Sir Willoughby Aston, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod:

— “ Mr, Speaker,

“ It is his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure that this House do attend him immediately in the House of Peers.”

Accordingly Mr. Speaker, with the House, went to attend his Excellency; and being returned, he reported that the House had attended his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Peers, where his Excellency was pleased to give the royal assent to the following public bills :

1. An act for granting unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, an additional duty on wine, hides, beer, ale, and other goods and merchandizes therein mentioned, and for prohibiting the importation of all gold and silver lace, and of all cambricks and lawns, except of the manufacture of Great Britain; and of all hops, except of the growth of Great Britain and the British plantations; and of all glass, except from Great Britain.

2. An act for granting to his Majesty the several aids, duties, rates, impositions and taxes therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the payment of the interest of the sums, therein provided for, and towards the discharge of the said principal sums in such manner as therein is directed, and for such other purposes as are therein mentioned.

3. An act for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, several duties upon stamped vellum, parchment and paper.

4. An act for the advancement of trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned.

5. An act for regulating the sugar trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned.

6. An act for regulating and extending the tobacco trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned.

7. An act to promote the linen and hempen manufacture, by encreasing the supply of Irish flax-seed, and encouraging the export of linens and sail cloth, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

8. An act for indemnifying such persons as have acted for the service of the public in advising or carrying into execution a proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant and council of this kingdom, bearing date the 13th day of November, 1782, and also an act of council or entry in the council books, bearing date the 2nd day of June, 1783.

The Commons being returned to their own House, and the Right Hon. the Speaker having taken the chair, Mr. Fitzgibbon,

(who this day appeared for the first time as *Attorney General*) moved, that Augustus Warren, Esq; the petitioner complaining of an undue election and return for the city of Cork, do attend at the bar. The Attorney General founded his motion on the report of the committee, which had declared that petition groundless, frivolous and vexatious; and therefore he thought it incumbent on the House to assert its own dignity, by making an example, to deter others from such practices.

Sir *Nicholas Laswells* and Mr. *Chatterton* pleaded strongly in extenuation of Mr. Warren's offence. That it was possible he might not have known of the matters charged in his petition, which was drawn up by some agent; that from their knowledge of the gentleman's integrity and honour, they were convinced he had not taken any improper means to support it; and that as the lenity of parliament had extended to Mr. Stewart, a gentleman under similar circumstances, they hoped that the House would consider Mr. Warren's situation, who if called to the bar, must suffer fatal consequences.

Mr. *Mason*.—No two things can possibly be more dissimilar than the circumstances and conduct of the Right Hon. Mr. Stewart, alluded to, and the petitioner against the Cork return. The first gentleman, as soon as it was made known to him that improper charges had been introduced into his petition against the Noble Lord, the sitting Member, and against the Hon. High Sheriff, immediately waited upon them, and in the most honourable manner disavowed his knowledge of these charges; nor did he attempt in the least to support them. But what is the conduct of Mr. Warren? He not only introduces the most heinous charges into his petition, but he attempts to support them by the evidence of a pack of perjured ruffians, who prevaricated so shamefully, that the House is obliged to send them to Newgate.

The Right Hon. Petitioner on the Down election, was intitled to much respect, not only from his rank as a privy counsellor, but for his amiable conduct through life—He had sat many years in this House, and in all that time had merited the good opinion of its members, and he had offered to pay the costs which his petition had incurred; but what offer has the petitioner made in the present case, or in what point can his conduct be compared to that of Mr. Stewart?

Mr. *Marcus Beresford*.—As I opposed the discharging of the order for bringing Mr. Stewart to the bar, I think myself strongly called upon to support the present motion—I attended on the committee, and had there an opportunity of seeing the most shameful charges, supported by the most villainous evidence; by persons guilty of such open and barefaced perjuries, that I believe there has been no example of any thing similar, and I

hope that the justice of this House will prevent the like ever occurring again. It is said that calling the petitioner to our bar, may be attended with fatal consequences to him—I grant it may, it may be fatal to his election, it may prevent him from dispensing bribes, and from corrupting such venal wretches as appeared before the committee—but the House will not, I trust, feel much compunction for producing such fatal effects.

The *Provost* complained of the charges that had been wantonly made against him; how unfounded the committee's report, and the honourable opinion entertained of him for three and twenty years by the citizens of Cork, best demonstrated; these charges he thought the more cruel, as he being at the head of the University, was bound to shew to the youth of the kingdom, an example of rectitude, from which, he trusted, he never had departed; and any impeachment of character must be more severely felt by him, than by persons not standing in such a conspicuous point of view—He observed that no equitable restitution had been thought of or offered by the petitioner, whose conduct was in every respect the very reverse of Mr. Stewart's.

A long desultory conversation now took place, which ended in the friends of Mr. Warren proposing, that he should pay the costs incurred by his petition; to which purpose the *Attorney General* moved a resolution that passed unanimously.

Sir *Edward Newenham* observed, that parliament was at the eve of a long recess; that it had sat for near three months, granting large supplies to the crown; it had passed that most oppressive—the stamp act—which must be explained and amended—it was too oppressive—yet no act was passed for the improvement of our constitution; he hoped gentlemen would return to that House with minds determined to support the rights and accede to the wishes of the nation, which expected an adequate reform of representation, a limitation of the influence of the crown, and protecting duties; without the latter, our boasted *free trade* will prove but an empty name: He moved, “that the House be called over on Monday the 8th of February, and that the Speaker do write circular letters to the members, requiring their attendance, otherwise they would incur the censure of parliament.”—Sir *Edward* then gave notice, that as the names of the defaulters were called over, he would move, that such defaulter betrays the trust reposed in him, by neglecting his duty.

Mr. *Chatterton* begged the advice of the House; he said he had been solicited to present a petition complaining of an undue election for Enniscorthy; that he knew nothing of the parties,

or the merits of the petition, but requested to be informed whether he was bound to present the petition or not.

The *Speaker* said, that as every man who applied to the House was entitled to justice, and as their petitions could only be presented by members, he thought Mr. Chatterton ought to bring forward the petition.

The petition of Alexander English, Esq, complaining of an undue election and return for the borough of Enniscorthy, was accordingly presented by Mr. Chatterton.

And the House adjourned to Monday the 26th day of January next.

MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1784.

The House met pursuant to adjournment.

Several members returned upon new writs, took the oaths and their seats accordingly.

Petitions were received from the linen manufacturers of the county of Tyrone, city of Londonderry, and town of Colerain, praying a restriction on the exportation of linen yarn.—Referred to the committee of trade,

A petition was presented, complaining of an undue election for Baltinglass.—Ordered to be considered on Friday the 13th day of February next,

Mr. Alexander English was ordered to lodge the corporation books of the borough of Enniscorthy, now in his possession, with the Clerk of the House,

Writs were issued for the several places, in the room of the late appointed judges.

The order on the petition complaining of an undue election for the county of Clare, was discharged on the motion of Mr. Brownlow.

Leave was given that the Prime Serjeant, the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, Mr. Wolfe, Mr. Bennet, and Mr. Boyd, attend as council in the Lords on the appeal in the case of Hume and Loftus.

The order for going into the petition on the county Cavan election was discharged, but ordered to be considered on the 10th day of February next.

Mr. Chatterton presented a bill for the relief of insolvent persons under certain descriptions. He observed, that it extended to the case of the unfortunate debtors, both in and out of the kingdom, who should petition the House, and be found worthy ;

but to prevent frauds, none could be entitled but those to be named in a schedule. He mentioned that insolvent acts usually liberated only the person of the debtor, but this bill also discharged his after-acquired property, upon this principle—that a man, giving up his all, ought to become a new man, otherwise there could be no room for future exertion in industry. He then moved, “ That all petitions of persons praying relief should be presented on or before the 1st of March next, and no petition to be afterwards received. And for the purpose of preventing fraud, and to give notice to the fair creditor, that an alphabetical list of the names, places of abode, and occupations of the several petitioners, should immediately after the said 1st of March, be printed and sent to the sheriffs of the several counties and cities, and to the chief magistrates of the several cities and towns corporate in this kingdom, to be by them made public within their respective jurisdictions.”—Ordered accordingly.

The Enniscorthy petition adjourned to the 18th of February next.

The city of Clogher petition postponed to the 20th of February.

The Kilmallock petition postponed to the 23d February.

Right Hon. Mr. *Brownlow*—Sir, an omission of a very necessary measure took place the last day we met here, that was, Mr. Speaker, to return you our thanks for the very able speech which you then delivered in presenting the money bills at the bar of the House of Lords, a speech which reflected the highest honour on yourself, and gave the utmost satisfaction to the members of this House, whom I shall now move, to return you their thanks for your speech delivered at the bar of the House of Lords.—Whereupon the House

Resolved, *nem con.* That the thanks of this House be given to the Right Hon. Mr. Speaker, for the excellent speech made by him at the bar of the House of Peers, on presenting the money bills on Monday the 22d day of December, and that he be requested to print the same.

Mr. *Attorney General* said, that the sudden rise in the price of oats and barley had given very serious cause to apprehend a scarcity of these grains, particularly in the northern parts of the kingdoms, where the price was out of all proportion to the southern counties, as for instance, in Wexford oat-meal was 9s. an hundred, which was a dear price for that county; but in Derry it was from 18s. to 20s. Every species of grain was dear in the North, but oats being that on which the inhabitants chiefly depended, a scarcity thereof would be most felt, and that scarcity was every day likely to encrease, as the distillers finding it impossible to supply themselves with barley, were every day buying up and malting great quantities of oats, moreover by the ex-

periment of last year, it had been demonstrated, that a supply of foreign oats could not be obtained, even by a bounty, whereas a supply of wheat was readily to be had. Upon these considerations he thought it necessary to move the House, that an humble address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, to desire that his Excellency will be pleased, with the advice of the privy council, to take such measures as may seem meet to prevent and to guard against a scarcity of oats and barley, of which, from the present high prices of such grain in many parts of the kingdom, there seem to be apprehensions, and well founded, and to assure his Excellency that this House will concur in such acts as may be thought necessary to give efficacy or sanction to the same.

Mr. *Toler*—I do not mean to give any opposition to the present motion, though I confess that I am not by any means a friend to embargoes; but I rise to inform the House, that any apprehension of scarcity is ill founded, for I am well assured, that in the southern counties there is the greatest redundancy of grain, and that an ample supply would be afforded from them to the north if the trade were free and open, but while mobs can assemble to regulate the corn trade by their own caprice, both the farmer of the south and the consumer of the north will suffer. At Clonmell, a mob of two hundred persons assembled by sound of horn, and broke into the mills of some quakers, as worthy men as any in the kingdom, who by their industry and integrity have greatly contributed to the public advantage; from these mills the mob took all the grain they could find, and, to prevent its being sent to the North, sold it for what they thought proper in the middle of the town, while, as I am well authorised to say, the mayor of Clonmell did not do what he ought to discourage or prevent this outrage. But I trust that government will take the most decided measures against those daring violators of the public peace, and all their abettors. I am the more anxious that the measure of an embargo should be well considered before it is adopted, as I am convinced the frequency of it will annihilate the corn trade of Ireland; and as I am certain there is no occasion for it at present, for the very town of Clonmell, of which I have spoken, lying in the midst of a fertile country, could by means of the river Suir, send assistance to the greater part of the north, if a sufficient force was stationed there to preserve the freedom of trade and the public tranquility; and I think his Excellency deserves praise for his exertion in sending a body of troops thither for that purpose.

Mr. *Attorney General* explained that he had not the measure of an embargo in contemplation.

Secretary *Hamilton* assured the House, that his Excellency had taken, and was determined to pursue the most vigorous measures

to preserve the peace, and to prevent any scarcity, natural or artificial.

The *Provost* seemed to think that there was something extremely mysterious in the management of corn business: At Cork there is, he said, almost ten pounds of bread for a shilling—at Dublin scarcely eight, notwithstanding the advantage of land carriage bounty.—At Cork, twenty-one pounds of potatoes (called a weight) cost three pence—in Dublin, every fourteen pounds of potatoes cost $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ if bought in large quantities, yet he threw no blame on the Lord Mayor, who, he said, he believed a good sort of man, and one that did his duty, but he was certain there was a fraud somewhere.

He said, that he knew of but three methods of relieving the northern counties, by an embargo, by stopping the distilleries, or by giving a bounty on importation of grain—and he trusted government would adopt the most effectual.

He said, he had observed that once in every three years, for at least five and twenty years past, the north of Ireland had been in similar distress for corn, and that he had often revolved in his mind the necessity of establishing granaries in that part of the kingdom, and that the bounty given on the exportation of corn should also be given on its carriage coastways to these granaries, until they should be replete—their size and capacity being regulated by the necessity of the places where they should be established. He thought Newry, Belfast, and Derry, the proper places to make the first experiments, which might be done with little expence, nay, might even produce a profit. He begged the northern gentlemen would give this subject their attention.

Mr. *Colwill* said, that the difference of prices, and the threatened scarcity, did not arise from any deficiency of corn, but from the mobs, who would not suffer it to be transported from places where it was plenty to others that were in distress, and this, he said, ever would be the case until it was made capital to obstruct the corn trade. Government, he said, ought to interfere with a strong hand, and check the boldness of those rioters that had plundered the mills at Clonmell—government ought to support the prosecution of them, and not leave the burden or the odium of it on individuals. He said, if the white-boy act had been extended to such rioters as those of Clonmell, as he had proposed, the House would not have heard either of the plunder by them committed, or of a threatened scarcity in the north; for he well knew that that scarcity did not arise from any want of provision, but from want of freedom of trade. He disapproved the idea of granaries.

Mr. *Tosler* was convinced there was a sufficiency of corn in the kingdom if it was properly distributed. The Right Hon. *Provost* had said, there were but three ways to avert the threatened evil,

but he humbly apprehended a fourth might be found, that was to give the same bounty on the carriage of corn coastways from the south to the north, that was given upon the exportation thereof to foreign countries.

Mr. Corry thanked the Provost for his ingenious plan of supplying the north by means of granaries: Newry, the town he represented, was eminently fitted for such a measure, because on the entrance of a canal navigable to Lough-neagh; he saw the undertaking replete with every advantage, and promised his utmost support whenever the Provost should think proper to introduce it.

The motion for the address was then agreed to unanimously, and ordered that the said address be presented to his Excellency by such members of this House as are of his Majesty's most honourable privy council.

The Right Hon. Mr. *Attorney General* informed the House that he was commanded by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to acquaint them, that it was his Excellency's pleasure that this House do adjourn itself until Monday the 9th day of February next.

And the question being put, that the House do adjourn itself until Monday the 9th day of February next, it was carried in the affirmative.

Mr. *Molyneux* moved the House to present an address to his Majesty, expressive of their satisfaction at the dismissal of his late ministry, and of their determination to support him against the machinations of all who oppose his rightful prerogative.

He condemned in the strongest terms the late ministry; bestowed the utmost praise on Mr. Pitt, who, he said, had given the noblest proofs that he deserved the public confidence; and concluded, that he could not for a moment doubt, but that the House felt the same indignation that he felt at the daring attempts that had been made on the prerogative of their sovereign, and that like him they would be eager to express it.

The *Attorney General* said, he could not see the propriety of the Irish House of Commons interfering between the contending parties of England; for himself he scorned the idea of attaching himself to any faction, and he hoped the House would be mindful of its own dignity, and avoid becoming a partizan.

As the question of adjournment was previously moved and put, the Speaker declared he could put no other.

The House adjourned till Monday the 9th day of February next.

The Right Honourable Mr. SPEAKER's Speech to his EXCELLENCY the LORD LIEUTENANT at the Bar of the House of Peers, on presenting the Money Bills for the Royal Assent, December 22, 1783.

May it please your Excellency,

HISTORY cannot furnish many instances of such remarkable events as have happened in the course of the last seven years; of these none are more worthy of observation than the changes in the human mind, and the more so, because they have been produced by causes, from which they were the least to have been expected. New tenets, more consonant to the principles of humanity and justice, have been universally adopted in civil and religious policy; these are the happy but unexpected fruits of the calamities of war. In other countries national benefits may have compensated for national misfortunes, but it has been the peculiar felicity of this kingdom to acquire the former without feeling the severities of the latter; to her steady virtue she owes these glorious attainments, and by her virtue, I am confident she will preserve them, and transmit to posterity unimpaired the British constitution, the very essence of which is liberty and order. Good government and liberty are inseparable, they are necessary to and mutually support and protect each other, and neither can exist without the other. The Commons, since the commencement of this session, have directed their attention to those important objects, which were so wisely recommended to them by your Excellency, to improve and secure those advantages, which had been acquired in the last parliament; they have also made provision, without laying any new burthens upon the people, for the honourable support of his Majesty's government, and for the discharge of the arrears upon the establishments; and they have the fullest confidence that your Excellency will represent them to his Majesty as loyal, dutiful and affectionate subjects.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1784.

The House met pursuant to adjournment.

Several members returned upon new writs were sworn, and took their seats.

Mr. *George Montgomery* presented a petition from the yarn dealers of the county of Cavan.—Referred to the committee of trade.

Hon. Mr. *John Bourke* moved that Sir Lucius O'Brien be added to the committee of privileges.—Ordered accordingly.

Several petitions from insolvent debtors were presented, and ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. *George Montgomery* reported from the committee to whom the petition of John Henry, Esq; was referred, He then moved for leave to bring in a bill pursuant to said report.—Leave given.

Mr. *Molyneux* moved that the proper officers lay before the House the produce of the Irish post office accruing from the postage of foreign and domestic letters, from the 1st of January 1782, to the 1st of January, 1784.—Ordered accordingly.

Sir *John Blaquiere* brought in a bill for extending the provisions of an act for the naturalization of foreigners.—He immediately presented the bill; it was read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. *Hatton* complained of an infringement of an order of the House, by William Alexander English, Esq; who in neglect thereof, had omitted lodging the corporation books of Enniscorthy with the Clerk of the House. He therefore moved, “That the said William Alexander English, Esq; be ordered forthwith to attend at the bar.”

The messenger who had served the order, being then called, said he had served the order on Mr. English’s servant maid, who had handed it to a gentleman in a parlour. But being asked whether he knew that gentleman to be Mr. English, either by his person or voice, answered in the negative.

It being observed that Mr. English was at the bar, it was then moved, that William Alexander English, Esq; do attend at the bar forthwith.—Which was ordered accordingly, and Mr. English having attended accordingly, he was called in.

Mr. *Speaker*.—Were you, Mr. English, served with the order of this House to deliver up the books of the corporation of Enniscorthy?

Mr. *English* (at the bar).—I was not legally served, as in the order, I was directed to deliver the books in the day I was served, which was dividing the day.

Mr. *Parsons*.—I move that Mr. English deliver the books forthwith.

The *Speaker* repeated the motion to Mr. English.

Mr. *English*.—It is not in my power; the books are not now in my possession, but that of a gentleman whose name I am not at liberty to tell, and who is at this time at Ballymahon.

Attorney General.—Mr. English must tell who is the gentleman that has the books, that he may be served with an order.

Mr. English refused, being, he said, on his honour bound.

Mr. *Curry* said, though he had found Mr. English, both before and while a member of that House, a very proper and independent member of parliament, he found it necessary, for the honour of the House, to move a censure upon him, such only,

however, as many members of that House had often incurred—That Alexander English, Esq; be committed to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms.

Mr. English, however, promising that he would do his utmost to have the books delivered up as soon as possible, Mr. Corry withdrew his motion.

It was then ordered, That William Alexander English, Esq; do this night lodge the corporation books and the charter of the borough of Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford, and all the papers concerning the said borough which he took into his possession, with the Clerk of this House, and that the Speaker do call him to the bar, and notify to him the said order.

And Mr. English was accordingly called in, and Mr. *Speaker* notified to him the said order, and he was then ordered to withdraw.

The order for taking into consideration the petition of the Hon. John James Maxwell, complaining of an undue election and return for the county Cavan, on Tuesday the 10th day of February next, at two o'clock, being upon motion read—Ordered, That the said order be discharged.

Ordered, That the said petition be taken into consideration on Monday the 23d day of February instant, at two o'clock.

Mr. *Corry* observed, that many of our unfortunate and deluded countrymen, who had been inveigled to emigrate to America, had suffered the greatest hardships, and some had even lost their lives, by undertaking the voyage in vessels insufficiently provided with seamen, with accommodations, and with provisions. To prevent the like disasters in future, he moved for leave to bring in a bill, to regulate the accommodation and provision of ships sailing to distant parts.

Ordered, That leave be given to bring in a bill to regulate the manning, victualling, watering, accommodations, and other things in ships carrying passengers from Ireland to distant parts; and that Mr. Corry, Mr. Foster, and Sir Lucius O'Brien, do prepare and bring in the same.

The *Attorney General* acquainted the House, that he was directed by the Lord Lieutenant to request the House would adjourn itself to Wednesday the 18th instant. He said that his Excellency, immediately on the ministerial change which had taken place in England, had sent his resignation, which resignation was accordingly accepted the 7th of January, since which there was no communication between him and the new ministry respecting the government of this kingdom, except the message from his Majesty for adjournment, which had been delivered to the House the 26th of last month. At present, as no packets had arrived these five days, every thing was uncertain.

Right Hon. Mr. *Brownlow* said, the Right Hon. Gentleman who spoke last had only done his duty—his conduct on every occasion was truly respectable. He had certainly now acted in a candid and manly manner, but he did his duty as an officer of the crown. They ought to act as the representatives of the people. He then moved an amendment, "That next Wednesday be substituted for Wednesday *sen'night*."

Sir *Lucius O'Brien* (who this day took his seat) said, that he saw no reason for any adjournment, on account of a squabble for power among a few in England, especially at a time when the situation of this country required so much of the attention of the House of Commons. The distresses of our poor, the scarcity of grain, rendered every day greater by the distillers, who turn bread to poison; our commerce, not however that phantom called protecting duties, which he was convinced, if carried into execution, would injure what they meant to serve; our contested elections, and many other matters with which the Lord Lieutenant or his friends in England had nothing to do.

Mr. *Jones* (of Lisburn) said, it should be no concern of Irishmen, whether Mr. Pitt or Mr. Fox were to be at the helm of power. Their own internal interest should employ the attention of that House, without becoming party men.

Mr. *Browne* (of the College) demonstrated the absurdity of the parliament of Ireland suspending the business of the kingdom, because truly the grand vizir is out of humour; and said that all who respected his Majesty should vote against an adjournment proposed by Lord Northington, who was actually in opposition to the King.

Major *Doyle*.—I rise with great diffidence to express my approbation of the amendment offered by the Right Honourable Gentleman near me, and my consequent dissent to the question of adjournment proposed by his Majesty's minister; and indeed it would seem, that the reasons adduced by that gentleman, to convince the House of the necessity of adjourning are so many arguments against its expediency—His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant sends to the House desiring it to adjourn, and the reason given by his minister, is, that he has resigned his office, and is in fact no longer Viceroy.—Now, Sir, it appears to me, that he either is, or is not Lord Lieutenant; if he is, the reason given for adjourning falls to the ground—If he is not, he cannot send to us as Lord Lieutenant to adjourn. If there is anarchy and confusion in the councils of England, thank Heaven there is tranquility and temper in this country; to preserve which, the deliberative wisdom of parliament should be as little interrupted as possible. The violence of faction in that kingdom may render it necessary to adjourn or dissolve their parliament; but fortunately no such necessity exists here; on the contrary,

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there is every demand for the deliberation of the House at this critical juncture. The arrangement of a complete commercial system with the States of America, not only requires your fullest investigation, but that you should not lose a moment, in seizing it while the predilection of America is strong in your favour, for you have many powerful and insidious rivals for her commerce, who (having conferred recent obligations on her) will carry her off from us, if we seize not the critical moment of her partiality. There are also several petitions depending for the discussion of the House; by deferring to enter into their merits, you will do injustice to many of the parties and entail a considerable expence upon them all. But if none of these reasons have any weight, let me call your attention to the crying necessities of our starving manufacturers; and I do it with a greater confidence, from a conviction that these unfortunate men will find a warm advocate in the breast of every man whom I have now the honour to address.

The subject, Sir, belongs not to party, it is a subject of humanity, and as such comes home to every breast. I would not, Sir, wound your feelings, by dwelling upon the sad detail of complicated woe, the dismal portion of these unhappy men. The melancholy picture, alas! requires not the high colouring of pathetic description; every corner of your capital gives proofs of its existence; and there is nothing but complaining in your streets.

It is not long since a groupe of famished figures (impelled by hunger) fought these gates for succour. They were seen flitting like spectres through your avenues—They were moving shadows of their former selves. They clung about your porticos, imploring bread; but they sought not the bread of idleness, they sought by honest labour, to earn the bread of industry for their wretched women and craving infants. For this have I heard these very people stiled licentious, but where are the marks of their licentiousness? I will tell you—that hunger which forces through stone walls, was here arrested at your threshold, through respect to you. Was this licentious? What did they demand? They asked you as a boon, for what if they had been licentious; should have been their punishment. They asked you for hard labour. Did this in these men seem licentious? Yet there are those who say they were licentious, and they are all honourable men. I am sure there is no man here who is indifferent to the distresses of a fellow creature: Shall we then pity the sorrows of an individual; and shall that soft affection lose its force when the object of its operations are multiplied? Shall we feel the sufferings of one man, and shall we be indifferent to those of one thousand? That we may remove these distresses, as far as lies in our power, and that

we may carry through the business of the nation, at present impeded by faction, I shall vote for the amendment.

Captain *Burgh* spoke for the adjournment.

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* said, that the words of the message proved that his Excellency did not mean any breach of parliamentary privilege. He said, that parliament, consisting of King, Lords and Commons, could not act if any of these branches was defective. That in the present case the regal branch might be considered as absent, his Excellency not chusing to act, and therefore it would be highly improper to proceed without his concurrence. He had sat, he said, twenty-five years in parliament, and never had known the Lord Lieutenant's request to adjourn refused.

Mr. *O'Hara* thought an adjournment of two or three days sufficiently long. At a time when the petitions of the different counties required attention, and several things remained to be done to rescue from famine the poor of the kingdom, they would not discharge their duty to their constituents by postponing their interests to those contending faction in the sister kingdom; for this was the real, let what would be the pretended cause, of the Right Hon. Gentleman's motion.

The Right Hon. *Attorney General* said, he never adopted any measure whose motive he would be ashamed to avow. In the present unsettled situation of affairs, his Excellency had thought proper to send his resignation, he therefore did not imagine it delicate in him to act, till a successor should be appointed. The conduct in his Excellency was open and noble—it had no retrospect to contending parties in England—he was therefore happy to co-operate in it.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* quoted the journals of the House, to prove that the adjournment moved for was an infringement of parliamentary order.

Prime Serjeant *Scott*.—I own this debate has taken a very different turn from what I expected; but let us examine the matter fairly, and I am convinced gentlemen will not think their opposition to his Excellency's request well founded: A Lord-Lieutenant who, while in power, does his utmost for the public good, relinquishes that power, and consonant to that act, requests to be excused from proceeding to business of importance. Had his Excellency intended any thing to the injury of this country, he would have concealed his resignation; but he has acted like a man of honour towards us, and we are bound to act as men of honour towards him. The first adjournment did not originate with him, but from the royal message; this is a continuation of that measure. There are now four packets due, perhaps they may bring new instructions to his Excellency, perhaps a successor; in either case it would be highly imprudent in the House to oppose this message. If

a successor comes, he will bring his instructions and his measures along with him; but if his present Excellency is to continue, may he not say hereafter, how changeable are the Irish? When first I had power, how complaisant were they to my wishes—when I laid down that power for a time, how soon did they turn their backs upon me; and now that I have reassumed it—but I will not anticipate, I shall only say, that such conduct would be unworthy the Irish nation, so unlike the character of men that effect great purposes by conciliatory means, that I am convinced will never find support in this House.

The question on the amendment being put, there appeared

Ayes,	—	—	—	42
Noes,	—	—	—	108
Majority,	—	—		66

The main question was then carried.

The Right Hon. Mr. *Speaker* reported that he had, pursuant to order, communicated, by letter, to the Right Hon. Sir George Augustus Eliott, Governor of Gibraltar, the resolution of this House of the 16th October, 1783, to which he was pleased, by letter, to return the following answer:

“SIR, *Gibraltar, December 16th, 1783.*

I intreat you to accept my best thanks for your very obliging letter of the 18th October, (received this day) conveying the resolution of the House of Commons 16th October, 1783, an honour far exceeding the most sanguine expectations which could be formed on the presumption of such feeble endeavours for the publick service, although now they will appear in a most advantageous light, being dignified by the approbation of that honourable House.

I humbly request, Sir, you will please to offer my most respectful acknowledgments for this very distinguished mark of their favour. I am, Sir,

with respect,

your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

G. A. ELIOTT.”

*The Right Honourable
the Speaker.*

The House adjourned to the 18th of February.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1783.

As soon as the *Speaker* had taken the chair, a committee was ballotted for to try the Enniscorthy petition, and ordered to sit on Monday.

Afterwards Sir Boyle Roche, and three other members, were sworn.

On the motion of Mr. Chatterton, a clause in favour of fugitives was ordered to be inserted in the insolvent bill.

The petition complaining of an undue election for the city of Clogher, was withdrawn, in consequence of a motion for that purpose, made on behalf of the petitioners. Mr. *St. George*, however, (one of the sitting members) said, that he came down to the House fully determined to oppose that motion; but as his worthy colleague had given his consent to it, he would not act in opposition to him in a matter wherein they were equally concerned.

Right Hon. *J. Ponsonby* entreated the interposition of the House in favour of the numerous poor now out of employment, and whom a timely relief only could enable to subsist. He would not attempt to take up the time of the House in expatiating on the miseries of these poor people; every gentleman's senses and feelings had anticipated him, and spoke more forcibly than any language he was master of. He felt, but could not paint the degree of calamity the miserable people had to struggle with, and would, therefore, without farther preface, move, that the House come to the following resolution:

Resolved, That an humble address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, requesting that his Excellency will be pleased to lay before his Majesty the humble desire of this House, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that a sum, not exceeding the sum of 3000*l.* be issued from his Majesty's treasury, in such portions and to such persons as his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant shall appoint, to be distributed for the relief of the poor in the city of Dublin, and that this House will make good the same.

Mr. *Conolly* seconded the motion, and said he was so convinced of its propriety and necessity, that he thought the sum too little; his countrymen were distressed, and deserved to have more done to relieve their difficulties.

The Right Hon. the *Provost* and Mr. *R. Longfield* rising together, and each insisting he was up first, there was an interruption of business for some little time. The *Provost*, at last, observing with much good humour, that he knew his colleague was going, himself, to say something in favour of Corke, and on Mr. *Longfield's* answering yes, said, he was happy they were both so sanguine in the same cause, and was sitting down, when he was called on by the chair.

He then said, that the attention of the House was equally due to the kingdom in general; that the city he represented,

though it fell short of being half as large as Dublin, by some hundreds of houses, yet if computed by the number of inhabitants, as its houses contained more people, it bore a greater proportion, greater still, if computed by the taxes and other aids it paid towards the maintenance of the state: Though he understood from good authority, that the distresses of the poor were not as great in other parts of the kingdom as in the metropolis, nevertheless they were of that magnitude as to require relief. However, as he believed his Hon. Colleague meant to advance some proposition in favour of the city they both had the honour to represent, he would content himself with saying, that any motion tending to that end should meet his most hearty support.

Mr. *Longfield* thought much gratitude due from the House to Cork, as their trade served every gentleman of landed interest. He then moved an amendment to be made to the said resolution, by inserting after the word "Dublin," the words, "and a sum not exceeding 1,500*l.* be issued from his Majesty's Treasury, in such portions and to such persons as his Excellency shall appoint, to be distributed for the relief of the poor of the city of Cork."

Sir *Hugh Hill*, after enlarging on the distresses of the northern parts of the kingdom, and representing the difficulties they laboured under from the high price of provisions, moved as an amendment, "that the sum of 500*l.* be added for the relief of Londonderry."

Sir *Henry Cavendish* proposed an amendment in favour of the borough of Lismore; and said money should be granted to set people to work, and not to promote idleness. To such a degree was idleness advanced, that there might be seen twenty or thirty sturdy beggars in a knot, and grown so outrageous as to offer force in some measure. He should not be surprized, if, in a short time, they forced people's doors, and took their property whether they would or not. Charity also should be general, and extended to every part of the kingdom. The borough of Lismore, whose advocate he now was, had been so distressed from the high price of provisions this year and the last, as to require the aid of parliament.

Mr. *Greene* said, that when other places were providing for, he thought it proper to say a word in favour of the borough of Dungarvan; it had its necessities, and he trusted it would meet with an equal consideration in proportion to its claim. It had this merit at least, that though equal necessarily it could not be said to be equally importunate, for except, when he spoke in its favour, its name was not heard of in parliament.

Mr. *Montgomery* urged the necessities of the people of Cavan, and implored the assistance of parliament.

Sir *John Elaquiere* observed, that as the relief could not be general, the amendments only tended to clog the motion for assisting the poor of the metropolis. He would therefore, beginning with that for Corke, have the question put on the amendments one by one, and give them his negative.

Mr. *Curren* said, the distresses of the poor was greater in Dublin than in the other parts of the kingdom. Here they had no dependance but their markets, which were more uncertain in their nature than the product of the land. The country had also more resources; he therefore thought that every man who felt for the misfortunes of his fellow-citizens would concur in the original motion.

Mr. *Conolly* remarked, that though the kingdom could ill bear the granting away money, yet he concurred in the motion from the urgency of its object, as 25,000 souls were really starving!—He hoped such a plan would be adopted by that House as would prevent a famine, either by allowing the importation of grain, by an embargo, or otherwise.—He could not but do justice to the humanity of the citizens of Dublin, which was conspicuous, and he thought the house of industry truly useful.

Mr. *Sackville Hamilton* thought it best that the matter should be confined to the city of Dublin, as the distress was evident under their own eyes, and truly alarming.

Mr. *Hartley* was of opinion that the poor of Cork did not bear as great proportion to those of Dublin, as the number of inhabitants in the one city did, to the inhabitants of the other. Wherever the rich dwelt, the poor would be sure to come.—Here was the seat of government, of parliament, the courts of justice, and the residence of the nobility and gentry. It was natural for the poor to assemble where something was to be had, or where there was a probability of getting employment. In three manufacturing parishes in this city, were 21,000 poor; and though the subscriptions to the house of industry had been very liberal, yet they were found inadequate to relieve so many. It would ill become him, while he was talking in favour of the poor of this metropolis, to prevent relief from being extended to other parts of the kingdom. But, however, he hoped gentlemen would not, by persisting in their amendments, clog the motion.

Sir *Lucius O'Brien* said, that while they were deliberating, the poor were starving; and that he voted from the pressing urgency of the occasion.

Mr. *Dillon* thought the relief should be general—In the part of the kingdom he lived (Connaught) there existed the utmost danger of a famine. This, he said, was to be attributed to the great number of illicit stills, whence it happened, that the corn which ought to serve to maintain the people, was mostly bought up to be distilled.—But if the commissioners of the revenue would

give proper assistance, the gentlemen of the country would associate to put a stop to this practice.

Sir *Edward Newenham* said, the Right Honourable Member (the Provost) has declared, that he wished for some general or universal mode of giving bread to, or maintaining the poor of this kingdom—I will suggest a sure and permanent mode, and hope for the Right Honourable Member's assistance; let him by his interest and great abilities support a just bill for protecting duties; then Ireland will flourish, and we shall not hear of starving manufacturers; let us banish foreign fopperies, and be content with home manufactures; ready money is but a temporary relief; protecting duties will produce a permanent security against want in the lower order of the people; these hard working men ought to be our particular care.

Sir *Henry Hartstonge* thought that something ought to be done before the House adjourned, in favour of the poor.

Mr. *O'Hara* felt the necessity of doing something in favour of the poor, and promised to support whatever tended to that purpose.

The question was then put, that the words proposed by way of amendment, stand part of the resolution.—It passed in the negative.

And the question being put, that the House do agree in the said resolution.—It was carried in the affirmative.

Ordered, That the said address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant by such members of this House as are of his Majesty's most honourable privy council.

Sir *John Parnell*, from the select committee appointed to try the merits of the petition of William Alexander, English, Esq; complaining of an undue election and return for the borough of Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford, informed the House, that the committee desired leave to adjourn to Monday the 23d day of February instant, and assigned several special causes to induce the House to give such leave.

Resolved, That the said committee, for the special causes so assigned to the House, have leave to adjourn to Monday the 23d day of February instant, at eleven o'clock.

The order for taking into consideration the petition of John Bateman and Robert Johnston, Esqrs. complaining of an undue election and return for the city of Clogher, on Friday the 20th day of February instant, at two of the clock, being upon motion read,

Ordered, That the said order be discharged.

Ordered, That leave be given to withdraw the said petition.—And the same was withdrawn accordingly.

The Right Honourable the *Attorney General* begged leave to inform the House, that he was ordered by his Excellency the

Lord Lieutenant to signify to them his Majesty's desire, received by his Excellency, that they adjourn till Monday, and that in acting thus, the Lord Lieutenant only obeyed his Majesty's command, for that two hours after their last adjournment, the royal command was signified to his Excellency, that their adjournment should be for a fortnight, to compleat which, the time intervening between this and Monday was necessary.—He added, that an official account had arrived of the appointment of his Grace of Rutland to the government of this kingdom, which was an additional reason for his Excellency's requesting an adjournment.—He sincerely hoped, that the distractions in England would not prevent the business of this country, and moved that the House, at its rising, do adjourn till Monday.

Honourable *Denis Browne* opposed the adjournment, because much business was to come before the House; the parliamentary reform, and protecting duties would require much time for discussion, and besides no satisfactory reason had been assigned for it.—He then moved, that Thursday the 19th of February be substituted for next Monday.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* thought the times required something more than adjournments, and asked if they were to consent to the adjournment, whether the business of the nation would go on on Monday.

Sir *Lucius O'Brien* thought this a bad way of signifying his Majesty's commands, as it wanted both form and precedent. When his Majesty thought proper to send a message to that House, it was always in writing; it should be received uncovered, and then entered on the journals. However, he said, he did not intend to oppose the adjournment.

The *Attorney General*, in reply, said he had been uncovered the whole night, but the present message was not immediately from his Majesty to the House, but was at the request of his Excellency by his Majesty's command.

Mr. *Browne* (of Trinity College) would not oppose the adjournment, when the request came from his Majesty, but thought his Majesty's ministers here answerable for having advised such a message.—He begged to know their reason for declining to go on with the common business of the nation. They put him in mind of the council of Constance; when adjourned for want of money from the pope, it was humourously, though, with some degree of impiety, said, that they waited for the arrival of the Holy Ghost in a cloak bag from Rome. Administration was eternally waiting for a cloak bag from Holyhead. Would they pay themselves so bad a compliment as to say, that without the cherishing influence of a secretary of state, they could do nothing? That for want of such an idol, his Majesty's Attorney General had neither law nor eloquence, his secretary of state could not write his

name, and the grand financier had forgot all his arithmetick.—If they acknowledged this, they had better leave their seats, and they would find a great number of worthy gentlemen very ready to step into them, and go on with business.

After some other gentlemen had spoke, Mr. Browne withdrew his amendment, and the original motion passed without a division.

Sir *John Blaquiére* said, there existed a nuisance in this city, whose explanation did not require words. It was known to every one who heard him, that he meant the scandalous state and total neglect of the streets of this city. They were rendered impassable by pools of dirt and crusted lumps of congealed snow, to the disgrace of police, and almost total prevention of the commerce of the city. Carriages had been broken, and many people hurt; the fault must be somewhere. If in the laws for that purpose, they should be amended; if in the scavenger, he ought to be punished; if in the magistrate he ought to be told his duty; if finally, with parliament, as coming under the scavenger law, they were highly blameable. He said, no one found his account in the present dangerous condition of the streets but the surgeons and coach-makers, and concluded with moving, "That a committee be appointed to enquire into the causes of the present dangerous and neglected state of the streets of this city, and that they report their opinion thereon, and also what may be proper to be done to prevent the same in future."—And a committee was appointed accordingly.

Ordered, That the said committee have leave to sit notwithstanding any adjournments of this House, and that they be empowered to examine in the most solemn manner such persons as they shall think proper upon the subject matter of the said enquiry.

Mr. *Uniacke* moved, "That the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin, do attend this House on Monday morning next."—Ordered accordingly.

Sir *Edward Newenham* presented to the House, according to order, a bill for the better administration of justice, by ascertaining the qualification of justices of the peace for counties at large; which was received, and read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on this day fortnight.

Ordered, That the said bill be printed.

Mr. *William Brabazon Penfsonby* said, that the Lord Lieutenant was distinguishable for many virtues, and that he was not ever outdone by any of his predecessors in office, either for integrity, humanity, or public spirit; and as his Excellency was shortly to quit the government of the country, he felt it proper to move, though no more than the usual form, that an humble

address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, to assure his Excellency that we, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, learn with the deepest regret his Excellency's determination of relinquishing the government of this kingdom; to assure his Excellency that the uniform wisdom and virtue of his Excellency's administration, manifested by his attention to the encouragement of agriculture, the protection and advantage of our commercial interests, and by his zeal and firmness in support of our happy constitution, have intitled him to the most grateful thanks of the representatives of a free people; that we entreat his Excellency to believe that as we thankfully acknowledge his virtues, we shall sincerely regret his no longer continuing to preside over us, and to request that his Excellency will be pleased to add one further favour to those we have already received at his hands, by representing to his Majesty our unshaken loyalty to his person and government, our inviolable attachment to our happy constitution, and our determined resolution to support the just rights and privileges of the Commons of Ireland against all encroachments whatsoever.

Mr. *Conolly* said he was little used to pronounce a panegyric; he was unable to second the motion, without at the same time testifying the high sense he entertained of the character of Lord Northington.—He had come over at a critical period, and yet manifested the most steady resolution in supporting the constitution and promoting the real interests of Ireland.

Sir *Edward Newenham* declared he could not agree to such an address; it glanced in very disagreeable terms, on the honour and dignity of the Volunteers, who saved their country in defiance of corruption—he could not thank a Viceroy under whose administration a parliamentary reform was (in the language of some members) scouted out of the House:—He spoke plain English, and said, a reform of this House, for no house ever wanted it more. He would wait the issue of the present motion, to make one that would do honour to a parliament of real independent members, which motion he had in his hand, and that was, to thank his Majesty for his dismissing his late ministry, a part of whom robbed the crown of half its dominions, and to thank his Majesty for appointing a new ministry, in whom the people may confide, and whose principles are declared friendly to the much-wanted parliamentary reformation. He deemed the whole address, fulsome and degrading to the dignity of an independent nation, and gave his negative to every part of it as mean, servile, and flattering to an undeserving Viceroy.

Mr. *Malone* said, he also had intended to have seconded the address, but being deprived of that honour, he could not be precluded from paying his tribute of esteem for his Excellency's un-

common virtues; and thought the address an acknowledgment of gratitude he highly merited.

Mr. *Griffith* looked on the address as a matter of form, and would vote for it, though he did not consider himself of any party, and though he even thought some parts of it objectionable.—But a majority of that House having approved of all the acts of Lord Northington, for that reason, he would approve of the address, as a matter of usual form.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* would never give his assent to any act, merely because it was approved by a majority of that House.—He was, however, glad that they had framed the address in general terms, and did not mention economy. He did not recollect any mighty advantages gained to Ireland under the administration of his Excellency, as his friends had been known to oppose the interests of this country.

Mr. *Browne* (of the College) opposed the address, because it was, he said, stole upon the House, and should not be let pass as matter of form. It also contained matter foreign to the complimenting his Excellency, and would insinuate an attack made upon the constitution. He was, on his part, a stranger to any attack, though he plainly saw an attempt made to affix a stigma on the endeavour made to reform their present happy constitution.—When the cries of distress were urgent, he could not approve of his Excellency's relinquishing the business of the state, as every Lord Lieutenant had power to act, until the swearing of his successor into office. The same delicacy did not attend other parts of his conduct.—How could his Excellency answer to the public, the distress occasioned by the dispensation of justice by the Peers, contrary to that declaration of the great charter, *Nulli negabitur, nulli differetur justitia*.

Mr. *Molynaux* said, that the address had something insidious, how else came it to be proposed, when most of the gentlemen on his side of the House, who would oppose it, were gone away. They might rely on it a snake lay under the grass—He for his own part, was willing to compliment his Excellency, were the address to be confined to himself alone; but as it also comprehended the approbation of an English faction, he could express no approbation of the motion, nor regret at his Excellency's departure.—He thought the new Lord Lieutenant was the representative of worthy men, and therefore he should rejoice at the change, though perhaps after all, if the conduct of the Irish administration were considered during Lord Northington's administration, a man must be bold who would agree to vote him thanks; and it would not seem strange to recant, when one considers, that every one will cry out, what! vote an address of thanks to Lord Northington, in whose administration the motion for retrenchment of the army and every other good measure was rejected!

Sir *Richard Musgrave* was surpris'd how any gentleman could oppose the address, as his Excellency's administration was mild, wise and equitable. That an Honourable Gentleman who had attempted to stigmatize him, particularly on the score of economy, was the last in the House who should do so; for he had made a motion of a more injurious tendency to this country than any one made in this House, since his lordship's administration; this was an addition of 4000*l.* a year to his salary; but he with that noble disinterestedness and attention to economy, which he has always displayed, rejected it. One may conjecture with what view it was offered—but the bait did not take. To avoid any suspicion of a sinister view on that occasion, he has said, that he moved for it to maintain the honour and dignity of the nation. It would redound much to its honour and dignity to be run in debt—This puts me in mind of Dean Swift's advice to servants; to squander their master's substance and to involve him in debt for the sake of his honour and dignity. Some gentlemen on the other side of the House, abuse the late administration under the name of a coalition. I hope they will be remunerated by their successors.—They worship the rising sun. It is the characteristic of Eastern slaves to do so.—Is this gratitude? Was not every commercial and civil advantage which we have obtained procured during their continuance in office, and yet some gentlemen (indeed they are but few) abuse them.

General *Cunningham* expressed himself much satisfied with the firmness of the late administration, in maintaining the constitution on that happy foundation, under which our ancestors and ourselves enjoyed so much happiness. Though gentlemen may fondly congratulate themselves on the idea of the new ministry's taking up the reform, they will find themselves mistaken.—He knew Mr. Pitt, and entertained the greatest respect for his character and abilities; he would therefore, support him if his administration supported what he thought the proper constitution; if not, he would oppose him. But neither did the late, nor will the present ministry hazard so dangerous a ground, as parliamentary reform.—He knew Lord Northington, and honoured him for his noble and disinterested rejection of 4000*l.* a year, though a puerile motion had offered it to him on an establishment not able to bear it; but questioned whether our next Viceroy would act in the same manner.

Mr. *Bushe* condemned the idea of introducing English parties into that House, as attempted by one gentleman; but he trusted the House would never descend to such an admission. A few individuals also, attempted to arraign the House itself; but the House did not need his defence, as the nation saw them, and posterity would view them in the most honourable light. As to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, he did not know a more illu-

trious character.—He would ask them, if no bounties had been proposed—no beginnings made for commercial improvements.—The benefits accruing from his administration, were too fresh in their memories, to be easily forgotten; though it was not the practice of his friends to blazon his acts to the public eye. It should not be forgotten, that it was in his administration the bill of indemnity was obtained, which the ministry of former times could scarce dare to think of obtaining. To him they owed the admiralty bill, which gave a security to their free trade—To his administration they owed annual sessions; and the manly firmness of his administration preserved the constitution of this country; and maintained the dignity and privileges of that House; and they were, therefore, bound to declare their opinion of that administration, and he did not think even the words of the address, sufficiently expressive on this subject; as he would have their determinations be known in England, that they might give firmness to the public mind, and stability to public property.

Mr. *Molyneux* said, if the Honourable Gentleman called the motion for increasing the Lord Lieutenant's salary puerile, he forgot what sort of compliment he paid the majority of that House, who by agreeing to it, became each as much interested in it as he was; he called that majority puerile, for consenting to what the Honourable Gentleman was pleased to call a puerile motion. If gentlemen found fault with him for proposing, they must also censure those that approved. However, he was happy that there should be a time when the Honourable Gentleman could call in question the authority of a majority.

General *Cunningham* admitted there had been a majority for the question, but could not prevail with himself to be of opinion, from the manner in which gentlemen spoke, that they voted according to their sentiments.

Mr. *O'Hara*, after dwelling pretty much on the services the volunteers had rendered this country, and saying, that instead of the censure indirectly thrown on them by the last paragraph of the address, they deserved the utmost praises that every friend to this kingdom could bestow, moved an amendment, by expunging these words, "We will support the just rights of the Commons of Ireland against every encroachment whatsoever." These he said, were insidious words, and seemed directed to the advocates of parliamentary reform.

Mr. *Griffith* seconded the amendment.

Mr. *Monck Mason* was of opinion that it would have been a matter of no consequence, if these words had been originally omitted; but it was not so now that they formed a part of it; for if they were now expunged it would be saying we will not support the rights of the Commons of Ireland, and they were on that account become of importance, and ought not to be expunged.

Mr. *Corry* had no objection to the last paragraph of the address, though he disapproved of several other parts of it, as conveying an ambiguity, and seeming to throw a reflection on the late endeavours to procure a parliamentary reform.—This is called to make a change in the constitution; but it is called most erroneously so—It is not making a change in the constitution, but in the mode of the constitution. If gentlemen mean to convey an idea of resisting the reformation of those abuses, introduced by time and circumstances into our form of government, by “supporting the present happy constitution,” they have my warmest disapprobation. Let gentlemen therefore, speak out their meaning.—As to maintaining the privileges of the Commons, it is agreeable to whig principles, the principles I glory to profess. To Lord Northington he had no personal objection, he thought his conduct by desiring the adjournment extremely handsome towards his successor, the Duke of Rutland.

Mr. *Grattan*—An Honourable Baronet has taken notice that the word *economy* is not to be found in the address—He will be so good as to recollect that Lord Northington has not been above eight months in this kingdom, and therefore has not had time to do much; but if he has not greatly diminished the national expences, he has done more than most of his predecessors, for he has not at all increased them. The army has been mentioned as an instance of profusion, but will any man lay the blame of a vote of parliament at the door of a Lord Lieutenant? As to any scheme of systematic reduction, it was impossible, from the shortness of Lord Northington’s administration; but we must not forget that no objection was made from him, when the expence of collecting the revenue was proposed to be reduced: formerly it was objected to—But with this symptom in his favour, we cannot condemn him for not having had time to carry a scheme of retrenchment into execution.

As to commercial advantages, I will state a duty on foreign beer, which must operate powerfully in favour of our own breweries, and of our tillage. When this was announced to the House, I recollect the Honourable Baronet rising, and laying his hand upon his breast, he returned thanks for so great a favour: surely the spirit of the times is much changed, if gentlemen now despise what they held in high estimation; surely the gratitude of the House is wonderfully altered, if gentlemen forget that for which so lately they made such strong acknowledgments.

Another advantage is the duty laid upon calico, in favour of our own manufacture. The duty on sugar that has been conceded this session, was formerly thought an object of the first magnitude in our commerce; it is now of no consequence, because gentlemen speak in opposition; or is it because his Excellency, having no points to carry against the interest of the kingdom, has

not taken pains to blazon out arts which tend to magnify the prosperity of this country?

Now as to constitution, an idea totally new and unsolicited, was introduced into our admiralty bill, that is, to cut off any appeal to the British admiralty, by which all that foolish supposition of any power of external legislation for Ireland remaining in Great Britain is for ever done away.

A charge has been made by the representative of the seat of learning, that justice is delayed! I lament that it is, I agree with him that it is an evil, but whoever considers the situation of the Lord Lieutenant will see that it cannot be attributed to him; for the adjournments together make just the time that his Majesty has commanded his Excellency to demand. I lament the situation of England, that makes those adjournments necessary and unavoidable; for it is plain, if there be no minister in England, there can be none here. Was I to indulge my private regards, they are much in his Excellency's favour; his administration in general I have supported, and I think this address justly due to his merit.

Mr. *George Ponsonby* approved of the noble and disinterested manner in which his Excellency had refused the additional 4000*l.* a year. But as his Excellency did not employ news-papers, their puffery did not blazon it forth with half the assiduity they are known to use on much more trifling occasions.

General *Luttrell* rejoiced an adjournment would take place, if there had been no other reason but that there might be time to examine into a scandalous table of fees he had seen exhibited in the House of Lords, a table four times as high as in England. He hoped that the Commons would never acquiesce in such extortion. They ought, at least, to have as great a share in granting the money of the public as the House of Lords, and if they acted up to their proper dignity, should demand a conference. The people were not to be taxed without their concurrence, and this was taxing them with a vengeance; the stamp-act was but a flea-bite to it.

Sir *John Parnel* felt it his duty to support the motion of the address, from his knowledge of the æconomic disposition of his Excellency, more particularly in that department in which he was connected.

The question being then put, there appeared,

For the amendment,	—	—	—	5
Against it,	—	—	—	109
It passed in the affirmative.				

The question being then put upon the address, it was carried in the affirmative; and the question being put that the said

address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant by such members of this House as are of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY' 23, 1783.

Alderman Nathaniel Warren, representative of the city of Dublin, took the usual oaths and his seat.

The House being informed, that the petitioners against the election and return for the borough of Kilmallock did not intend to prosecute their petition—on the motion of Sir *Henry Hartstonge*, it was ordered that the petition be discharged.

The *Attorney General* said, that to him or his Hon. Colleague, the costs incurred by the groundless petition just mentioned was an object of little consequence, yet, to discourage such ill-judged attacks in future, he would move that the petitioners should pay the costs, though perhaps he should never think it worth his while to demand them.—Ordered accordingly.

The *Attorney General* informed the House that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant had been attended with the address of thanks of this House to his Excellency, and that thereupon his Excellency was pleased to return the answer following :

“To promote the prosperity and happiness of this kingdom has been the first and constant object of my administration.

“This very obliging address is the most honourable testimony that my zealous endeavours have not been wholly unsuccessful. It confers upon me the highest gratification, and justly claims my warmest thanks.

“The true interests and happiness of this free nation are so involved in the steady support of her happy constitution, that I must have weakly sacrificed the former, if I had not on all occasions firmly supported the latter.

“I shall rejoice in representing to his Majesty, in the strongest and truest light, your unshaken loyalty to his person and government, your unalterable resolution to maintain the constitution inviolate, and to support your just rights and privileges against all encroachments whatsoever.”

Ordered, That his Excellency's answer be entered upon the journals of the House.

The Right Hon. Mr. *Attorney General* also informed the House that the address of this House, “That his Majesty would be pleased to give directions that a sum of 3,000*l.* be issued from his Majesty's treasury, to be distributed for the relief of the poor of the city of Dublin,” had been presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant; that his Excellency will transmit the same

accordingly, and that he had in the mean time ordered that a sum of 1,000*l.* should be issued from the treasury, to relieve the pressing necessities of the poor.

The order that the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin do attend this House on Monday morning next, being upon motion read,

Mr. *Uniacke* said, that as a great mob attended the introduction of Alderman Warren, it would be extremely indelicate to have the Lord Mayor, who had been his competitor, standing at the bar at such a time; it was a situation in which he did not wish to have him stand. He had also some other reasons which he would not mention, as he hoped the first would be thought satisfactory, and as he intended, when the order should be discharged, to move, "That the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor do attend at the bar on Saturday next."

The order was discharged, and Mr. *Uniacke* moved to renew it for Saturday.

The *Recorder*.—As there is a committee appointed to examine the police of this city, I suppose the Hon. Gentleman intends, that the Lord Mayor shall be in readiness to give that committee any information or assistance that may be in his power; if so, it will be proper to request his lordship may attend, but that should be at the sitting of the committee.

The *Provost*.—The committee having power to call upon all persons that may be supposed capable of giving them information, may call upon the Lord Mayor for that purpose, therefore this motion is not necessary. Indeed the late order seemed to imply that the Lord Mayor had not done his duty, a circumstance that can only be known through the committee, and as they have not yet had time to enquire into it, or to report, it ought not to be assumed as granted.

Mr. *Uniacke* agreed with the Recorder, that it would be right for the committee to examine the Lord Mayor, and, though he consented to withdraw his motion, yet expressed a fear that there would at last appear an absolute necessity to pass a censure upon his Lordship.

Mr. *Molyneux* would not consent to have the motion withdrawn, he felt, he said, for the honour and dignity of the House, and as he had heard that the Lord Mayor refused to attend, he would insist on the House exerting its authority; and he trusted no man in this kingdom was beyond the reach of that authority.

Mr. *Chatterton*.—Though I never exchanged a word with the gentleman that fills the office of Lord Mayor, I have such an high respect for the dignity of the office itself, that I cannot think of sporting with it, upon light or unimportant occasions; and had I attended when the order, which is now discharged, was proposed, I would have resisted it to the utmost; what, Sir, to call to your bar, like a criminal, the first magistrate in the kingdom, and stigmatize him with a reproach that years will

not wear off—It is unseemly, it is a procedure not warranted by law, by justice, or by decency.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* was of opinion that the Lord Mayor had neglected his duty and would, therefore, have him called to the bar. He never would admit, he said, that the House had not a right to call him before them; and, therefore, to manifest that right, he was for proceeding to the exercise of it; especially as common fame, which in this case was good evidence, said that the Lord Mayor disputed the authority of the House.

Mr. *Hartley*.—The Lord Mayor never did dispute the authority of this House, but absented himself to day, upon the assurance of several members, that the order for his attendance would be discharged.—Had I been in the House when the Hon. Knight of the Bath (Sir John Blaquiere) introduced this subject, I could have informed him that the city magistrates are not so culpable as he supposes; for conscious of the defects in our police, and of their want of authority to regulate the city in the manner we all wish, they are actually preparing a bill to be submitted to his honourable House for the improvement of the police of the city of Dublin. If the committee appointed by this House shall think proper to take this bill into consideration, there can be no objection to the Lord Mayor's attending to give every assistance and information. From the abominable state of our streets, I own gentlemen may have formed strong prejudices against the Lord Mayor, but the dignity of the office should be considered, second to none but that of the Viceroy; and I hope the House will reflect that by debasing magistracy, and making it contemptible to the people, they level all distinctions, and encourage disobedience, tumult and disorder.

The motion was withdrawn.

The names of the defaulters of Wednesday last were called over, and every person not offering sufficient apology, ordered into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms.

On motion of the Attorney General, it was ordered that all members now in custody of the Serjeant at Arms be forthwith discharged, first paying their fees.

Attorney General.—Without having any message from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, I now rise to submit to the House the propriety of adjourning on our next rising, to Thursday the 26th.—I hope gentlemen will think, that as well from delicacy to the Duke of Rutland, who is expected every tide, as from the regard we have so justly expressed to Lord Northington, we ought not, for the short space of two days, to embarrass either of them with business, especially as an adjournment to Thursday cannot be attended with any possible inconvenience.

Mr. *Toler* hoped it would not be deemed unbecoming of him to oppose the motion, which he did, feeling as strongly as any

man the delicate situation of the Lord Lieutenant, and entertaining as high a respect for his character: But other considerations had also their due weight with him; a committee to try the merits of an election was to be drawn to-morrow, the petitioners and sitting members were keeping witnesses in town at a vast expence; and why the House should not trust itself to sit one day, he could not see; nay, he thought it would be doing service to the Duke of Rutland's ministry, by disembarassing the first day of every troublesome business.

Mr. *Brownlow*.—I think it extremely wrong that all the affairs of Ireland must stand still, because two great men in England are struggling for power; and it is tenfold wrong at this particular time when the victims of famine crowd every street, the House ought to sit at least to endeavour some relief for the people in this time of scarcity. I will not say that we should proceed upon any important concern of politics, any thing that could involve party; but when we only desire to attend the distresses of our country, such repeated interruption demands the resentment of the House.

Secretary *Hamilton* assured the Right Hon. Gentleman that nothing could be farther from Lord Northington's mind, than to give the smallest cause for resentment, or to retard any measure for the benefit of the country; this he had manifested in every act of his administration, and the House had shewn the just sense they entertained of his Excellency. But he entreated the Right Hon. Gentleman to consider the very delicate situation of Lord Northington, and to reflect on the shortness of the adjournment proposed.

Attorney General could not guess who was the object of the Right Hon. Gentleman's resentment; was it Lord Northington? Certainly not—he had acted in the most handsome manner—first, by command of the King, and now from desire to smooth the way of his successor, and leave the kingdom in a state of peace, and harmony; this he believed every gentleman in the House would acknowledge; he could not therefore see the slightest ground for resentment against him, but trusted that gentlemen would pay due regard to the delicate situation of a nobleman, who had so much consulted the honour and advantage of this kingdom, particularly as the adjournment now desired, was, in fact, but for one day, for it was not customary for the House to sit on Ash Wednesday.

He professed himself sensible of the inconveniences which flowed from the distracted state of British councils; but this, he said, was an evil rather to be lamented than remedied—it was now over, and he hoped the country would suffer no more from it.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* said, the gentlemen on the other side of the House were convinced the Duke of Rutland would be pleas-

ed to find the House peaceably doing the business of the nation; but these gentlemen wanted these three days, in order to shift over, as they knew not which way to vote with every administration.

Mr. *Toler* withdrew his opposition to the adjournment, and the question thereon being put, that the House do adjourn to Thursday, there appeared,

Ayes,	—	—	—	89
Noes,	—	—	—	48

Majority for adjourning,

41

The order of the day being read for a committee on the insolvent bill, the House resolved accordingly, Lord *Delvin* in the chair, when the bill being gone through, paragraph by paragraph, the Speaker resumed the chair, and it was ordered to be reported on Thursday, to which day the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1783.

The Right Hon. *Luke Gardiner* rose, he said, to make a motion, which he flattered himself would meet with the immediate concurrence of the House, and this motion was for an address to his Grace the Duke of Rutland, to congratulate him on his appointment to the government of, and safe arrival in this kingdom. He was certain, this would be the less objected to, as a similar address had been lately presented to the Earl of Northington; and though his successor was as yet a stranger to the most of those who had then heard him; yet to those who had the honour of knowing his Grace, and who considered his illustrious ancestry, and eminent connections, he was certain such an address would not be deemed more than the tribute due to his merit.

He then moved that an humble address be presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, to congratulate his Grace on his arrival in this kingdom to take upon him the government thereof, and to express to his Grace the high expectations entertained by this House from his Grace's ability and disposition to promote the prosperity and happiness of the people of Ireland.

Lord *Delvin* rose to second the motion of the Right Hon. Gentleman.—His Lordship said, there was room to speak much in favour of his Grace's predecessors, and the essential services rendered to Great Britain and this kingdom by them; and of the great character and connections of his Grace; but he declined mentioning them. He only supported the motion for the address to the Duke of Rutland, as he was fully persuaded

his Grace would co-operate in every measure which had the prosperity of Ireland for its object.

Sir *Edward Newenham* observed, that as the present Lord Lieutenant was but just arrived among us, it was necessary, in the first instance, to lay our sentiments before him, that he might thereby be enabled to know our situation, relieve the distresses of our starving manufacturers, and aid the general voice of the nation; that the Duke of Rutland came to this kingdom under many advantageous circumstances; his own character, and being united with men in another country who professed revolution principles, and who declared themselves in favour of a parliamentary reform; that he hoped more words were unnecessary in support of truth and incontrovertible facts. He then moved the following amendment—"And we are firmly persuaded that during your Grace's administration such laws will receive the royal assent as will restore the constitution; and that the most effectual measures will be adopted to protect and extend the trade and manufactures of this kingdom, recent experience having convinced us that for want of sufficient encouragement our artificers and manufacturers are become objects of daily charity; and we are the more sanguine in these our hopes that such salutary objects will be perfected under the administration of a nobleman whose family and connections have (for a series of years) been conspicuous for their bravery in the field, virtue and wisdom in the cabinet, zealous for the general rights of mankind, and constant patrons of trade and commerce."

Hon. *Leennis Brown*.—I cannot consent to the amendment proposed, as I think it conveys some doubt of the noble Duke's intentions, which, as an individual, I do not feel; thinking thus I rise to express my approbation of the address proposed. I think it a matter of congratulation to this country to have a Chief Governor as remarkable for the independence of his principles as his fortune, I shall certainly feel myself partial to the administration of the Duke of Rutland, and will certainly give his Grace my support, such as it is, while he adheres to the principles of his connexions in England, I mean the great principles of constitution and public economy; for, Sir, not only in my short experience, but in the experience of the oldest man in either country, in the experience of record, I do assert, that there never were such daring attempts made on the trade and manufactures of both countries, as by a most daring set of men, the late administration. You may trace their attempts on the constitution of England from the Middlesex election in 1770 and 71, when they invaded the rights of the people, to 1783 and 84, when they invaded the just prerogative of the crown; the first of those remarkable attempts shook the King on the throne; the second has involved the sister kingdom in a scene

of confusion that may probably end in her ruin, from the mortal stab it has given to public credit. But, Sir, in the intermediate time between the events of 1771 and 83, there were some things happened worthy our recollection. Will England ever forget who lost America; who added 70 millions to the national debt? Will Ireland ever forget the unceasing enemies of her trade and constitution, who supported the rights of external legislation, who declared the sun of England was set for ever when the acknowledged our freedom of constitution? Will they ever forget the trick of simple repeal? I hope, Sir, both countries will join in support of a government born for the salvation of a tottering constitution. Sir I could expatiate on this subject for hours—I could dwell on a subject I feel myself deeply interested in, from being a warm well-wisher of both countries; but I feel myself too much obliged to the indulgence of the House longer to trespass on its time. I shall conclude with giving my assent to the original address.

The amendment being negatived without a division, the address was agreed to *nem. con.*

Ordered, That the said address be presented to his Grace by such members of this House as are of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

Mr. Gardiner said, as gentlemen might be impatient, to know what steps had been taken in so important a matter, as the state of the manufactures of the kingdom, he would just enter on the subject. The committee who had sat upon this business before the recess, would meet to-morrow to digest the various matters that had appeared before them, in order to be enabled to make a special report to the House of the same, for the purpose of framing a bill for laying such duties on foreign manufactures, as should be found expedient. After this, he hoped the House would fix a day for the final discussion of the matter. He had, he said, on his own part, given the business every attention in his power, previous to his going to England; and when he went there, he exerted every endeavour for its full accomplishment. It was an object of the greatest magnitude to the well-being of the trade of Ireland, and he found himself happy in forwarding what he considered his most essential duty.

Sir Lucius O'Brien declared he entertained as high a sense as any man of the Right Hon. Gentleman's assiduity and abilities; but confessed himself ignorant of what was meant by digesting evidence. He could see no objection to reporting specially, and presenting a printed report of the whole evidence, as he could not conceive that any part of it was to be concealed from the public.

Mr. Gardiner replied, that he had no objection to meet the wishes of the Hon. Baronet, in that respect; but had the Hon. Baronet been present, at the examination of this evidence, he would find that the publication of a subject so complicated and desultory, could not tend to any useful purpose. The whole formed an *olis* of extraneous matter; and numerous, which to understand properly, it was necessary to decompose. As to the report of digested evidence, it was neither new or uncommon; it had long been the practice of England, and a case lately occurred in point, as would appear from the preamble of the report, made from the committee appointed to enquire into the smuggling abuses. The very difference of idea entertained by the parliament of England, in respect to the balance of trade between both nations, could not be conciliated by such publication. Some part of the evidence was explanatory of commercial usages between Ireland and other countries, which it would be prejudicial to the kingdom to make public. But this did not preclude gentlemen from having recourse to the evidence as delivered in, and reading the whole. It was under this idea, of its being imprudent to publish the whole, that he took leave to suggest to the committee the digesting of the evidence, and to report it in that form. It was not, he said, to be supposed that the evidence delivered to the committee was taken down *verbatim & literatim*; it was not done in any committee, though when a committee reports, the House has an implicit reliance on that report. On his own part, he did not care if the whole evidence was published in the most staring capitals, if he did not think that the publication of some things would be productive of a national injury. He declared, with an honest warmth, he did not want to digest, in order to conceal the truth. He would not have it suggested, that he endeavoured to prevent any gentleman from reading the whole of the evidence, or that he wished to suppress any part of it; he only meant to serve his country.

Sir Lucius O'Brien bore the most honourable testimony to the integrity and abilities of the Right Hon. Gentleman, and was certain that all his exertions were directed to the service of his country; but he only wished for a special report. He considered it as a former practice to digest the evidence, but on being much complained of was discontinued.

Mr. Griffith acknowledged that many thanks were due to the Right Hon. Gentleman, for his laborious investigation of this important business; but he was of opinion, that the whole of the evidence should be published.

Here Mr. Gardiner said, he never imagined so voluminous a work would be called for.

Mr. Griffith said, he had read what was taken down by the committee before the recess, and he could see nothing in it, the

publication of which might hurt the trade of the kingdom. He believed the Right Hon. Gentleman himself, had made a motion to have it printed before the recess, and he could not conceive the reason for the present alteration of that opinion.

The Right Hon. *Thomas Conolly* also acknowledged the many obligations which this country owed to the indefatigable labours of Mr. Gardiner; but he was certain protecting duties would never answer any good purpose. What was the consequence, he said, at the time a non-importation was agreed to? Four shillings a yard was paid for home-made cloths, more than cloth of a similar quality could be had for in England. Add to this, that it would destroy an old branch of trade, now well established, which had brought millions into this country; for if the English were provoked, by this measure, to withdraw their bounties on Irish linens, that trade would sink into immediate ruin. Honestly, he said, was the best policy, and he wished to stick to the old trade we had so long enjoyed.

Right Hon. Mr. *Gardiner* apologized for speaking again, but said that as the House sometimes indulged conversations of this kind, he would beg leave to add one word to what he had said. In the course of the committees inquiry, various subjects had been laid before them, the woollen, the cotton, and almost every other branch of manufacture. Now, as gentlemen entertained opinions, various on almost each of these manufactures, it would be but just to separate the manufactures themselves in the committees report, and let each stand on the ground of its own merit. Besides, the subject of restraining the export of the raw materials had also come before the committee—this ought, in the report to be kept a distinct business, for if so many different matters were to be blended together, it would combine against the whole gentlemen, who might disapprove of any particular one.

Right Hon. Mr. *Brownlow* highly approved of what had been said by the Right Hon. Gentleman, on whose ability and integrity, for his own part, he was well content to rely, and thought that the House might with great safety trust to the committee; who, by their close investigation of the subject, had proved themselves so worthy of confidence.

The *Speaker* having declared that there was no question before the House,

Sir *John Parnell* begged the attention of the House to a circumstance important in itself, and as it involved the character of an Hon. Gentleman, whose noble and amiable conduct had rendered him the object of general esteem, claiming precedence to any other. Sir *John* then informed the House, that Mr. Ogle having been called upon to give testimony before the committee appointed to try the Enniscorthy election, had, after making every apo-

logy, and declaring every degree of respect to the committee, declined taking the oath, alledging, that should he take it, he might be examined to a circumstance of fifteen years standing, which he was bound in honour not to disclose; that he considered a promise on honour as a most binding moral obligation, and that he begged to submit his case to the House. Sir *John* added, that the petitioner, not satisfied with this excuse, had adduced the case of Mr. Oliver of the county of Tipperary, whom the House had obliged to take the oath under similar circumstances.

Mr. *Ogle*.—The House will think I ought to say something on this occasion, and I confess I ought, if it were only to thank my Hon. Friend for the kind manner in which he has brought it forward. I did refuse to take the oath, supposing that under the influence of it I might be pressed to reveal circumstances confided to me under the bond of honour; I look upon private confidence as the great tie of society, which none but the most base of mankind will violate. I therefore appeal to this assembly, as to a court of honour, where every member will feel for my situation, and will judge of it by his own heart. If there can be a possible justification for violating private confidence, it must be after having made the last appeal. I appeal now to this assembly, if I knew another at the farthest verge of the earth that could better justify me, I would carry my appeal thither.—And now let me say, if it shall appear necessary to the wisdom, the justice, and the honour of the House, that private confidence must be sacrificed—if it is a misfortune which cannot be avoided—the act is yours, let it not hereafter be imputed to me. I do but obey your order.

—“*To you I have made my last appeal,*

“*My hands are guilty, but my heart is free.*”

Mr. *Ogle* here sat down, but rose immediately, and said—I am so agitated that I forgot to state to the House, that the transaction of which I have any knowledge is of fifteen years standing, and I think cannot have any reference to the petition before the committee.

The *Attorney General*.—I believe there can be no doubt that the Hon. Gentleman must deliver his testimony before the committee in the usual manner. The law allows no man to withhold evidence, except men who, from the nature of their profession, must necessarily be entrusted. But if any question should be put to the Hon. Gentleman, not relative to the business before the committee, the Hon. Gentleman will know, and every member of the committee will know, that such questions ought not to be answered, for no man has a right, under pretence of evidence to any point, to draw from me any secret not relative to that point. The case of Mr. Oliver does not apply, for he was examined touching a pecuniary bargain connected with the elec-

tion, then trying by the committee before whom he was examined. Upon the whole, I would advise the Hon. Gentleman to be sworn, and that upon the principle that he is bound in point of law to give evidence to the matter before the committee, but that he cannot be compelled to reveal any thing not relative thereto.

Mr. *Ogle* rose again, expressed his obligation to the Attorney General, and his firm reliance on his opinion; but called upon the House, and entreated, that if there was a single gentleman who thought differently, he would now declare his dissent.—[Here he waited some moments, and there being no answer.] I have put, says he, my honour into your hands, and now shall act by your advice, and with your approbation.

Sir *Lucius O'Brien* called the attention of the House to the state of the poor, labouring under all the horrors of scarcity, nay, almost famine. He knew of none but three measures which the House could take to remedy this evil.—To prohibit the distillery of grain, to prevent the exportation, and to encourage the importation thereof.—For these purposes a short bill, such as he had formerly brought in, he thought would be necessary, but as some time would be taken up in passing it, he thought a resolution of the House would have a more immediate effect. The greatest quantity of grain, he said, was consumed by illegal stills, but when the opinion of the House should be once declared by a resolution, he trusted that the gentlemen who had taken up arms for the defence of their country, would now exert themselves to preserve their fellow creatures from famine, by putting an entire stop to the clandestine distillery,

Right Hon. Mr. *Beresford* said, he would not oppose the Hon. Gentleman in bringing in a bill, though such a resolution, he said, would only tend to the destruction of the revenue, as it would prevent and discontinue the payment of duty without putting the smallest stop to the distilling. Every man, he said, knew that it was an act which had been brought in by the Hon. Baronet which first raised the clandestine distillery to its present enormous height; for when people had got once into the habit of working their stills without paying duty, it became almost an impossibility to make them obedient to those laws which were intended to enforce the payment of duty.

Right Hon. *John Foster* was of opinion that the mere bringing in of the bill, though it should never pass, would increase the evil which it professed an intention of removing, for it would operate as a notice to set all the distilleries in the kingdom at work as hard as possible.

It was then ordered, That leave be given to bring in a bill to stop the distilling of corn and grain in this kingdom for a limited

time; and that Sir Lucius O'Brien and Mr. Montgomery (of Donegal) do prepare and bring in the same.

Ordered, That leave be given to bring in a bill to prevent the exportation of corn and grain, and to allow the importation of corn for a limited time; and that Sir Lucius O'Brien and Sir Edward Crofton do prepare and bring in the same.

A petition of the merchants, traders and principal inhabitants of the town of Belfast, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that petitioners had read a copy of a bill for regulating the corn trade, and that from the mode therein proposed for ascertaining the prices of grain in Dublin, by striking an average of the whole kingdom, petitioners are convinced said bill, if passed into a law, will not operate, as intended, to provide a regular and steady supply of corn in this country, but will, on the contrary, place the manufacturing and labouring poor in the north of Ireland in a much worse situation than under the present laws, and effectually deter merchants from ordering grain from any foreign port. That in Great Britain no such mode has been adopted, but in whatever district prices are high the ports are opened, and where moderate the ports are shut; a regulation the utility of which long experience has evinced, and which therefore petitioners recommend to the attention of the House. That petitioners represent, that though a merchant may be well acquainted with the state of the harvest, and the supply of grain in the county in which he lives, yet no man can obtain so universal a knowledge of the whole kingdom as to afford him rational grounds to conclude that the average of the whole may be such as to open the ports in time for him to sell his cargo, should he order one, before the ensuing harvest; for it is not publishing once a week in the Gazette the prices of every county, that can give this knowledge as the quantity of the grain may be great even when the prices are high, and that the price is no certain rule to judge of the quantity on hand, until the approach of harvest. That it is a well-known fact that in general grain is much dearer in the north than in the south of Ireland, insomuch that in times of scarcity the poor in several of the northern counties would be absolutely perishing before the average prices of the whole kingdom would amount so high as to admit importation from foreign places. That from the experience of last year, as well as of former times, it has been clearly proved that in a scarce year the prices of grain may at one quarter-day be under the rates fixed by the bill for permitting importation, and yet may far exceed them in two or three weeks after, and under such encreasing distress no remedy is provided for the long space of three months by the bill now pending;—and suggesting to the House that the persons appointed by the several grand juries to make weekly returns of the prices of grain

should be obliged to send a duplicate of such return to the clerk of the peace for their respective counties; and that if it shall at any time appear necessary to any three or more justices of the peace for any county, they should have power, by public advertisement, to call a meeting of the justices of the peace for the said county, at the place where the quarter sessions are usually held, which meeting the clerk of the peace should be obliged, under a penalty, to attend in person or by his deputy, with the returns made to him; and in case the average of such returns for the three weeks preceding such meeting shall be found to equal or exceed the limits fixed by the bill for opening the ports for any one or more kinds of grain, then the justices of the peace for the county so assembled, to be empowered by notice under their hands and seals to the different collectors of the said county, to open the ports of such county, until next quarter day, for the importation of such kind or kinds of grain, either from Great Britain, or from all parts, as the case may be.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Right Hon. Mr. *Brownlow* said, he intended, on Monday next, to lay a petition before the House, respecting a more equal representation of the people in parliament; and said, that several gentlemen who had received the like from their respective constituents, proposed to present their petitions on the same day.

Mr. *O'Hara* said, he had heard that it was the intention of gentlemen to bring in petitions on the same subject, the same day, and begged to know if the Right Hon. Gentleman intended to move for leave to bring in a bill for a more equal representation in parliament.

Mr. *Brownlow* replied, that a great number of petitions had already come in, and more were expected. He could not, he said, ascertain the day when this subject was to be moved in the House, or a bill brought in for that purpose.

A bill for regulating the corn trade, promoting agriculture, and providing a regular and steady supply of corn in this kingdom, according to order, was read a second time and committed.

Resolved, That this House will, on this day seven-night, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take the said bill into consideration.

Mr. *Foster* moved for the committee on the corn bill to receive a clause, for permitting oats and oat-meal to be received coast-ways into Ulster, from the other three provinces, and for a bounty to be allowed thereon.

The *Provoost* said, he did not mean to oppose the motion, but a doubt arose in his mind, that the opening the ports might be a means of evading the laws.

Mr. *Foster* said, this would never operate, unless the price in the province of Ulster should be high.

On the question being put, the clause was ordered to be received.

He also moved for leave to bring in a bill for inflicting punishment on such persons as should obstruct the corn laws, and for making satisfaction to the persons injured.—Ordered.

Mr. *Hartley* moved, that the committee be empowered to receive a clause, that for the future all malt shall be sold by measure instead of weight, as great frauds had been committed in the present mode of sale.

Alderman *Warren* seconded the motion.

Whereon it was ordered, That the committee to whom a bill for regulating the corn trade is referred, be empowered to receive a clause for encouraging the supply of the province of Ulster with oats and oat-meal, by a bounty on the carriage coastways from the other three provinces.

Ordered, That the said Committee be empowered to receive a clause to exempt oats, peas, beans, and other grain imported for seed, from payment of duties.

Ordered, That the said committee be empowered to receive a clause to order the selling of malt by measure, instead of selling by weight.

Right Hon. *John Foster* moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill for the more effectually punishing such persons as shall by violence obstruct the freedom of corn markets, and the corn trade, or who shall be guilty of other offences therein mentioned, and for the making satisfaction to the parties injured.—Ordered accordingly; and that the Right Hon. Mr. Foster, Sir Lucius O'Brien and Mr. Colville do prepare and bring in the same.

Mr. *Chatterton* moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill for the better regulating elections of members of parliament for counties, cities and towns corporate, where the right of voting is in the freeholders only, or in freeholders and freemen, and for ascertaining the qualifications of persons to vote at such elections, and to direct the proceedings of sheriffs and other officers in the electing and returning such members.—Ordered accordingly; and that Mr. Chatterton, Mr. Gorges Lowther, and Mr. Bernard do prepare and bring in the same.

Mr. *Foster* said, there being two other bills to the same purpose, he, therefore, was of opinion, the present bill was unnecessary.

The *Provoost* said, that he had read the bill of the learned gentleman, and it contained a review of all the election laws.

Leave was given to bring in the bill.

A petition of the commissioners for paving the streets of Dublin, setting forth the embarrassed state of their funds, and praying relief, was presented to the House and read.

Ordered, That the said petition be referred to the committee appointed to enquire into the causes of the present dangerous and neglected state of the streets of this city.

Right Hon. *John Foster* moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill for directing the application of the sum of 15,000*l.* granted this session of parliament for the purpose of paying bounties on the sale of the following manufactures of this kingdom; that is to say, the manufactures of wool, of wool mixed, of cotton, of cotton mixed, thread, kentings, and manufactures of iron and copper, and for the further encouragement of agriculture and manufactures.—Ordered accordingly; and that the Right Hon. Mr. Foster, the Right Hon. Mr. Attorney General, and the Right Hon. Mr. Prime Serjeant do prepare and bring in the same.

The *Attorney General* moved, that the corporation books and other papers belonging to the borough of Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick, which were lodged with the Clerk of this House, be delivered to the person who lodged the same.—Ordered accordingly.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1784.

Balloted, pursuant to order, for a committee for trial of the election for the borough of Baltinglass, who were sworn, and the defaulters being called over, a great number were excused.

Mr. *Chatterton* moved, that the several defaulters and members ordered into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, be discharged without paying fees, as he looked upon it that the business of election was nearly over, there not being above one, two or more to ballot for; and as he thought the mode of enforcing the attendance under the present law rather hard on the gentlemen.

This motion was opposed, the present mode enforced the attendance of gentlemen, and was productive of fair and impartial trials.

The *Speaker* declared, that if they went on in the present mode of allowing frivolous excuses, they would render the act totally nugatory.

The question being put, it was negatived without a division.

Lord *Delvin*, according to order, reported from the committee appointed to take into consideration a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors, that they had gone through the said bill, paragraph

by paragraph, and made several amendments thereto, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table.

Ordered, That the bill be recommitted.

Resolved, That this House will, on Tuesday morning next, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take the said bill into further consideration.

Ordered, That the several petitions presented to this House relative to persons in custody, and all returns made by sheriffs and gaolers, now lying on the table, be referred to the last-named committee.

Mr. *Melyneux* adverting to the ridicule cast on the proceedings of the House, by admitting such farcical excuses for the non-attendance of members, moved, That the Serjeant at Arms lay on the table on Monday next, a list of such members as are in custody, and have not paid their fees.—He afterwards withdrew his motion.

Mr. *Chatterton*, after enlarging on the intent of the law for compelling the attendance of members, and saying, that all committees, save one being appointed, any indulgence of the House to such gentlemen as were in custody could be attended with no ill effect whatever, moved, that such members as are in custody be discharged, without payment of fees.

Right Hon. the *Attorney General* said, he was one of those who had shewn his respect to Lord Northington (for whom he entertained the sincerest esteem) by attending him to the water side, and was therefore a defaulter; however, as he thought this no sufficient excuse for non-attendance, he would not use it as a plea. A law had been made to enable the House to compel the attendance of its members on their duty, and was found to be attended with very good effects—He would never, therefore, give his consent for relaxing it.—He thought every gentleman called upon on this occasion to enforce the law, if it were only for the sake of precedent: For if at any time there should be a majority of the House defaulters, with the contrary precedent on the journals, they might take upon them to dispense with not only this but any other law of regulation.

The *Provost*, Sir *Henry Cavendish*, and several defaulters, stood up to oppose any relaxation in a law made for so salutary a purpose, as enforcing the attendance of gentlemen on their duty, and that had been attended with such salutary effects.

Mr. *Chatterton*'s motion was negatived without a division.

Right Hon. *John Foster* presented a petition of the several dealers in corn, farmers, brewers and maltsters, in the county of Louth, setting forth that if the bill for regulating the corn trade be passed into a law, in its present form, it will be highly injurious to the mal-

sters, brewers and distillers of this kingdom, by discouraging the growth of barley, and causing the farmer to run into the cultivation of wheat and oats, and consequently the malster to depend on a foreign market for a supply of barley; that the quality of the malt will be also materially affected by the above regulation, for the malster, finding the ports will be open for the importation of foreign malt as soon as the price comes to 12s. a barrel, will make his malt of an inferior quality, and such as he can afford to sell under those limits, to prevent the importation; and praying a more equal limitation of the prices of the different kinds of grain for their admission into this kingdom; and if it is thought advisable to fix the limitation for importing wheat so high as 27s. per barrel, oats may be raised to 10s. 6d. barley to 14s. and malt to 16s. per barrel.

Ordered, That the said petition be referred to the committee of the whole House, appointed to take into consideration a bill for regulating the corn trade, promoting agriculture, and providing a regular and steady supply of corn in this kingdom.

A bill for the better administration of justice, by ascertaining the qualification of justices of the peace for the counties at large, according to order, was read a second time and committed.

Resolved, That this House will, on Friday morning next, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take the said bill into consideration.

Mr. *Toler* moved, That the proper officer do lay before this House, a list of the justices of the peace of the several counties in this kingdom, distinguishing the counties, and the times of their appointments respectively.—Ordered.

Mr. *Molyneux* moved, That the proper officer do lay before this House, the produce of the pipe-water funds for the last seven years, distinguishing each year, and the charges attending the execution of the works during the same period.—Ordered.

The *Attorney General* said, that the House would recollect, that they had made an order a few days ago, that the costs incurred by the petition of the Kilmallock election should be paid by the petitioners, Daniel and Thomas Whiddenham.—He said, he had not intended to take any advantage of this order, but would have given way to the solicitations of his friends in behalf of those petitioners, provided they had made a reasonable apology for their unwarrantable attack upon him and his right honourable colleague, which, at first, they had promised to do, but when they thought themselves fairly out of the scrape they had altered their minds, and now refused to make an apology for their conduct; he was, however, determined not to let them off so, and moved, that they should attend at the bar on Tuesday next.

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The Hon. *Hugh Masséy* said, he trusted the honour and generosity of the House would ever prevent it from enforcing an order, to compel any gentleman to make an apology that would degrade him from that rank.—The persons in question were willing to make any apology that was becoming gentlemen to make; but one of a most degrading nature had been proposed to them.—He thought, and hoped the House would think, they were right in rejecting it with scorn; but if that House or any honourable gentleman would propose an apology that was becoming gentlemen, he pledged himself that those persons would assent to it; and he appealed to the feelings of the House, whether gentlemen of respect, and honour of family, (antient family in their county) should be dragged to the bar because they had disdained to act unworthy of their character.

The *Attorney General* said, those persons had at first offered to make any apology he would dictate, and had begged of him to write one, which he accordingly did, but they refused to sign it, because it acknowledged that they had propagated groundless falsehoods and absurdities. This, he said, was but the truth, for they had written hundreds of letters, not only to the peers of parliament, but to almost every man of rank in the kingdom; which letters contained numberless falsehoods and absurdities.—Their refusing to acknowledge this, made him resolve not to give up the matter lightly, and particularly, as they had declared to him that they had been induced by some persons whom they would not name, to present their petition.

Hon. *Hugh Masséy*—This is not the first time, as I am informed, that the Right Hon. Gentleman has mentioned this matter of the petitioners being set on. I call on him to speak out like a man, who they are that set them on, or induced them to petition, and if he does not declare, I shall suppose he has no foundation for the suggestion.

Here Mr. Masséy speaking somewhat warmly, the Right Honourable *John Foster* very respectfully interfered to order; he said, when those persons came to the bar, they might be examined as to the point, of who induced them to give the House and the sitting members so much trouble, but to enter into that now was to anticipate their evidence.

Mr. *Alexander Montgomery* said, he could not see any cause for calling them to the bar at all.

Mr. *Mason* said, they had been ordered by the House to pay costs, they had not obeyed that order, and he thought this a very sufficient cause for calling them to the bar.

The *Attorney General*—If it shall be once established as a maxim, that any man in the street, who is neither a candidate or an elector in a borough, may inspect the corporation books for weeks, in order to fish out some pretext for creating confusion, may petition this House, and after giving a great deal of trouble to the

sitting members, to the corporation, and to this House, may just at the day appointed for trial, walk off about his business, without making any apology or paying any costs : I say, Sir, if this be established as a maxim, there is not a borough, city, or county in the kingdom that will not have petitioners against their returns. Yet, Sir, it is proposed to let those men escape, who, being neither electors or candidates for the borough of Kilmallock, have done their utmost to cause confusion and create trouble. It is, Sir, an high breach of the privilege of this House to proceed in the manner I have described ; it is a high breach of the privilege of this House, to write circular letters to the peers of parliament, desiring them to interfere ; it is an high breach of privilege to desire the interference of the convention.—These are breaches of privilege that ought not to be passed over in silence ; I would therefore call the authors to the bar to answer for their misconduct, and to declare who instigated them to it.

The question being put, that Daniel and Thomas Whiddenham do appear at the bar on Tuesday next, it was carried in the affirmative without a division.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1784.

The remaining defaulters called over.

On the motion of the Attorney General it was ordered, that all members of the House in custody of the Serjeant at Arms be discharged on paying their fees.

Sir *John Blaquiere* moved the second reading of a bill for extending the provisions of an act passed in this kingdom in the nineteenth and twentieth years of his Majesty's reign, entitled an act for naturalizing such foreign merchants, traders, artificers, artisans, manufacturers, workmen, seamen, farmers and others, as shall settle in this kingdom.—Read accordingly, and committed.

Resolved, That this House will, on Tuesday morning next, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take the said bill into consideration.

Sir *Henry Hartstonge* presented a petition of the tobacco manufacturers of the city of Limerick, complaining of an illicit trade carrying on in the county of Kerry, by running and smuggling tobacco, and praying that a military force may be appointed by sea and land to put a stop to the same.—Read accordingly.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

The bill for building a new jail in the city of Waterford, was read a second time, and committed for the 8th day of March.

The bill for regulating the qualification of electors, read a second time, and committed for Monday.

The bill for procuring a provision for the widows and children of deceased clergy, read a second time, and committed for Tuesday next.

The bill for regulating the inland fisheries of Ireland, was read a second time, and committed for Tuesday next.

The bill for the more effectual registering of freeholders, and the explanatory election bill, were read a second time, and committed for Tuesday next.

The bill for the relief of insolvent debtors under a certain description, different from the bill now pending in the House for the relief of debtors in custody, was read a second time, and committed for Wednesday.

A committee was struck to take into consideration the state of the fisheries in Ireland, and to call for persons and papers, and to sit on Monday next.

MONDAY, MARCH 1, 1784.

The Right Hon. Mr. *Gardiner* reported to the House, that his Grace the Lord Lieutenant had been attended with the congratulatory address of this House to his Grace, and that thereupon his Grace was pleased to return the answer following :

“ I sincerely thank the House of Commons for their congratulations, and for the just opinion they entertain of my earnest desire to promote the prosperity and happiness of Ireland.”

Ordered, That his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's answer be entered on the journals of this House.

Mr. *Chatterton* said, that actuated by humanity alone he begged leave to press one word in favour of the insolvents, a set of men who called aloud on the feelings, and he trusted would therefore excite the humane attention of the House.—He said, that his humble motion was, that the committee of the whole House, appointed to take into consideration a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors, be impowered to receive a clause, that any person applying for the benefit of the act for the relief of insolvent debtors in actual custody, shall not be obliged to pay any fee or fees to the officer of any court, or to any person, either for his discharge in pursuance of this act, or for any petition, affidavit or other proceeding to be had preparatory thereto ; nor that such discharge or

such petition, affidavit or other proceeding, be required to be stamped, or be liable to any duty payable to the crown.

The *Provoost* seconded the motion.

And the question being put, it was carried in the affirmative, unanimously.

It was also ordered, that the said committee be empowered to receive a clause to compel all persons who are prisoners for debt, and who chuse to continue in prison, to deliver up to their creditors their estates and effects upon oath, in order to satisfy their just debts.

Mr. *Chatterton* presented a petition from Felix Pritchard. This unfortunate gentleman's case was verified by affidavit, he had been a prisoner for debt only, in the gaol of Philipstown, for three years past, where he had suffered many hardships, for a considerable time past, loaded with irons of at least eleven pounds weight, often deprived of the use and benefit of fire; and when in the late inclement season he procured firing for his victuals, it was at the peril of his life a fire could be lighted up in the place of his confinement for want of ventilation, by which he was in great danger of suffocation. Mr. Chatterton pathetically appealed to the feelings of every gentleman, and called on their sensibility in favour of this unhappy object of their pity and commiseration.

Ordered, That the said petition be referred to the committee of the whole House, appointed to take into further consideration a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors.

He then moved, That the gaoler of Philipstown do attend this House, on Monday morning next.—Ordered accordingly.

Mr. *Chatterton*, according to order, presented to the House a bill for the better regulating elections of members to serve in parliament, for counties, cities and towns corporate, where the right of voting is in freeholders only, or in freeholders and freemen; and for ascertaining the qualifications of persons to vote at such elections, and to direct the proceedings of sheriffs and other officers in the electing and returning such members; which was received and read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Saturday next.

Right Honourable *William Brownlow* presented a petition of the gentlemen, clergy, freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Armagh, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Sir *Richard Johnston* wished to be informed by the Right Honourable Member (Mr. Brownlow) whether the Armagh petition

had been signed by the freeholders exclusively, or also by those who were not freeholders, and by what number? As he was informed the freeholders of the county of Armagh did not far exceed the number of 2000; this would throw some light on the matter. However, if others as well as freeholders had signed it, he thought the country much obliged to them for this instance of their care to the constitution.

Mr. *Brownlow* informed the Honourable Member, that the freeholders were 2500 in number; of these 1440 had signed the petition. It had been signed by near 5000 others, who were persons of character and property, sufficient to be freeholders, and who therefore ought to have votes.

Right Honourable *Hercules Langford Rowley*, presented a petition of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Meath, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

And the question being put, that the said petition be read.— It was carried in the affirmative.

And the same was read accordingly.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Right Honourable *Edward Cary*, presented a petition of the freeholders of the county of Londonderry, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Mr. *Travers Hartley*, presented a petition of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* said; on Mr. Hartley's presenting the Dublin petition, that doubtless the citizens were actuated by the most friendly motives to their neighbours, when they made such heavy complaints of their grievances. They could have no interest themselves in redressing hardships they did not feel. That they did not feel them was manifest from the proper choice they had made of their present members. However, as he was a friend to the rights of the subject to petition, he would give his consent to receiving the petition, though he was convinced, it would be found on rigorous examination, subversive of the constitution and government.

Mr. *Hartley* thought the citizens of Dublin had abundant reason to complain of the present state of representation. The elec-

tors of Dublin, among whom were many of the first and most respectable characters in the kingdom, amounted to 4000, and had but two representatives, when the most insignificant and depopulated borough returned the same number.

Sir *Richard Butler* presented a petition of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Carlow, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Right Honourable *John Foster*, presented a petition of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Louth, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Sir *Edward Newenham* said, he could not help noticing the manner in which the petition of the respectable electors of the county of Louth was delivered; until it was read, he did not think it was more than an insolvent petition, for the manner it was thrown on the table appeared to him very ungracious.

Mr. *Foster* said, he had been informed that some member had made observations on his manner of delivering the petition; he might not deliver a petition with that degree of elegance the Honourable Knight did, but no man could accuse him of want of respect to the electors, as those of the county of Louth; and that they were entitled to respect, equally with those of any other county.

Sir *Edward Newenham* replied.—Mr. Speaker, I am the member alluded to, therefore, I repeat my words; that the manner of delivering the petition was ungracious.—I repented it on behalf of those respectable electors who signed the petition, and I maintain it was indecently offered to the House—I am as much the friend of that respectable county as the Right Hon. Member. I stood up for their character and consequence.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Sir *Edward Newenham* presented a petition of the sheriff and freeholders of county of Dublin, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom; he added, he never made a motion or tendered a resolution with more zeal or warmth, than he did this unanimous desire of his constituents—it was penned with moderation, and founded in justice.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

The Right Honourable the *Provost* presented a petition of the freemen and freeholders of the county of the city of Cork, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Mr. *Sackville Hamilton* being chosen a burghess for the city of Clogher, in the county of Tyrone, and also a burghess for the borough of Rathcormuck, in the county of Cork, made his election to serve for the said city of Clogher.

Ordered, That Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a new writ for electing a burghess to serve in this present parliament, for the borough of Rathcormuck, in the county of Cork.

Mr. *William Ogle* presented a petition of the gentlemen, clergy, freemen, and freeholders of the county of the town of Drogheda, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Colonel *Gore* presented a petition of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Longford, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Mr. *Peter Latouche* presented a petition of the freeholders of the county of Leitrim, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Right Honourable *Owen Wynne* presented a petition of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Sligo, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

A petition of the inhabitants of the corporation of Newtownardes, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom, was presented to the House.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Mr. *O'Hara* presented a petition from the county of Sligo.—He said, it was conveyed in language the most respectful to parlia-

ment; for however they may have informed him of their particular wishes, they paid so much deference to that House, as not to specify any particular plan of reform. But the House must not judge from thence, that the county would be satisfied with any half measure, or any thing less than a complete and substantial reform. He then mentioned the various reasons the people have for desiring a reform; said an early reform would be honourable for the state, and grateful to the people, and pressed administration to meet the wishes of the public. He said, that for his own part, he never had been one of those who were ready to risk the state, or sacrifice the interests of the public to his own popularity; and though he placed the highest value upon the well-earned applause of his country, yet it was their well-earned applause alone that he desired; he therefore, was the better entitled to say the petition met with his approbation.—He then recommended it to the House to adopt the wishes of the public; and presented the petition.

Mr. *Mason* rose to inform him, that a petition from the county of Sligo had been presented.

Mr. *O'Hara* said, if it had been presented it must have been during the time he had been shut up on the Balinglass committee.—And that his was the same which must have been presented by his colleague. The petitioners, he said, would not be contented with a *half-measure*, nothing short of an EFFECTUAL REFORM would satisfy them.

The Honourable *Denis Browne* said, that a report had gone abroad that Lord Northington had loaded the already-over-burthened establishment with additional pensions, one of 500*l.* a year to Mr. Lees, the other 2500*l.* a year to Mr. Hamilton; and called on gentlemen in the treasury department, to inform the House relative to this matter—That the House might be enabled to enquire into it, in the manner it deserved, he moved, That the proper officer be ordered to lay before the House, an account of the pensions granted during Lord Northington's administration.

Mr. *Clement* told the hon. mover he could give him no information; this was the first time he heard of it.

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* wished the motion should run in the words, "That the proper officer lay before the House an account of the pensions, if any, granted by Lord Northington." Otherwise the public mind might be impressed with an idea, that pensions had been granted.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* would not consent to any alteration.—He thought the wording of the motion ought to be left to the Honourable Gentleman who made it, and might be supposed best to understand the meaning of his own words.

Mr. *Grattan* said, if Lord Northington had made such a bargain, (that is, to allow Mr. Hamilton a pension of 2500*l.* per annum,

in lieu of his place,) he was convinced it was from the most economical motives, and the best principles towards this country.—The salary of the chancellorship of the exchequer, which office Mr. Hamilton now held, was 1500*l* a year, and if Lord Northington had offered him a pension of 2500*l*. in lieu of it, his motive was, that an officer of so much importance should be constrained to reside in this country, and be no longer an absentee. But there was, however, he said, every reason to believe Lord Northington had not executed the measure.

Mr. *Molyneux* could see no economy in giving a man near double the income of his place, and said he would oppose any unnecessary addition to our already overloaded establishment.

The *Provost* said, he knew for a long series of years, the independence of Mr. Hamilton's fortune and principles. He was above making any bargain that could reflect the least dishonour on himself. Necessity could not compel him to do any thing contrary to his sentiments, as he had a large and independent fortune, and moreover was a bachelor, and had no children.

Mr. *Browne* having consented to the amendment,

The question was then put, That the proper officer do lay before the House an account, whether any, and what pensions have been placed on the establishment during the administration of Lord Northington.

Sir *Annesley Stewart* moved, That the proper officer do lay before this House the grant of looms and wheels made this year by the trustees of the linen board, and an account of the particular persons to whom they are ordered to be delivered.

General *Cunningham* was sure there was something rotten at the bottom in the management of the board.—He had improved as much as any man in the kingdom, and helped manufactures, by establishing manufactories, and assisting poor manufacturers, yet could never obtain a loom, unless he would accept of it as a particular gift to himself, which he declined doing. The trustees of the linen board, did not consider themselves, he said, as trustees, but proprietors, some of whom appropriated 30 looms to themselves.

Mr. *Foster* wished for the enquiry, as he was convinced nothing would come to light but what would be to the honour of the members of the linen board.

The motion was agreed to unanimously.

Mr. *Foster* said he had in his hand a bill, which if passed into a law, would remedy not only the defect complained of, but numberless others. His object, he said, was through the medium of the commissioners of imprest, to bring regularly before parliament an account of the expenditure of all public grants, that the corporations or others to which they are made, may not think them-

selves proprietors, but only trustees for the due application thereof.—He then moved, That leave be given to bring in a bill for the due accounting for all money granted for public works, charities and hospitals, and for the ordering a regular account in future of all monies entrusted to the corporation for carrying on the inland navigation, the trustees of the linen manufacture, the Dublin society, the paymaster of the corn premiums, the corporation for paving the streets of Dublin, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

He was seconded by the Right Hon. Mr. *Beresford*.

Ordered accordingly, and that the Right Honourable Mr. Foster, the Right Honourable Mr. Beresford, and the Right Hon. Mr. Secretary of State, do prepare and bring in the same.

The House, according to order, resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider further of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty; and after some time spent therein, Mr. Speaker resumed the chair, and the Right Honourable Mr. *Foster* reported from the committee, that they had come to some resolutions, which they had directed him to report when the House will please to receive the same, and that he was directed to move the House for leave to sit again.

Ordered, That the said report be received to-morrow morning.

Resolved, That this House will, on this day sevensnight, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider further of ways and means, for raising the supply granted to his Majesty.

Mr. *Bourke* moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the laws for the encouragement of planting timber trees.—Ordered accordingly; and that Mr. Bushe, the Right Honourable Mr. Foster, and the Right Honourable Mr. Daly, do prepare and bring in the same.

The Right Honourable *John Foster* presented to the House, according to order, a bill for directing the sum of 15,000*l.* granted this session of parliament, for the purpose of paying bounties on the following manufactures of this kingdom; that is to say, the manufactures of wool, of wool mixed, of cotton, of cotton mixed, thread, kentings, and manufactures of iron and copper, and for the further encouragement of agriculture and manufactures; which was received and read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow morning.

Ordered, That the said bill be printed.

Sir *Frederick Flood*, pursuant to a former declaration, moved that the committee on the insolvent bill, be empowered to receive a clause, to compel all persons in custody who chuse to stay

in prison rather than pay their creditors, to account for their fortune and effects on oath.—Ordered.

Mr. *Molyneux* desired to know if the committee on the Portugal trade were ready to report, or had agreed thereto.

Sir *Lucius O'Brien* moved, That the secretary of the Dublin Society do lay before this House an account of all premiums offered by the said society for the manufacturing single stuffs or durants, since the year 1770; as also an account of all premiums or bounties paid on that account, distinguishing the persons receiving the same, their places of abode, and the quantities and kinds of goods for which such premiums were respectively paid.—Ordered accordingly.

The order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to take into consideration a bill for relief of his Majesty's subjects, in cases of frivolous or illegal arrests, being upon motion read,

Resolved, That this House will, on this day sevensnight, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take the said bill into consideration.

TUESDAY, MARCH 2, 1784.

The House resolved itself into a committee on the naturalization bill, Mr. Isaac Corry in the chair.

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* said, he was happy to live at such an enlightened period as the present, when the former prejudices of mankind were in a great measure done away, and the sanguinary current of those religious distinctions which had deluged the blood of millions, to satiate the bigoted fury of fanatics, was stemmed by the lenient and free operation of reason. Descended, he said, from the same line, men, however partitioned or scattered over the globe, however particularized by those gradations of colour, which through various climes run from light to shade, in the human feature; yet the relative chain which connected the rational being half scorched under a tropical sun, to the half frozen native of the arctic circle, called upon a philosophic mind to view them in no other light than that of brethren. Under this conviction, how much more blameable must it appear, to keep up injurious distinctions between those who pride themselves in the glorious attribute of knowledge; and who, admitting the religion of the Jews as the very foundation of their own, yet reject that people, for a misfortune much more to be lamented, than remedied—want of faith, and habitual stubbornness.—If these people were ever to be converted, he said, it was not by excluding them from the so-

ciety and confidence of Christians. Admitting this industrious race to settle among us, might wear away all the asperities which preclude them from our society. Intermixture of marriages might bring them to think like ourselves, and even the last taint of their deeper colour, die away to our own natural carnation. The numerous thousands of Jews banished by the Emperor of Adrian into Spain, were no more to be recognized in that nation, though their descendants even now compose the prime of its nobility. He (Sir Hercules) was therefore an advocate for giving those people a favourable reception in this kingdom. He was for letting all foreigners, without partiality, enjoy all the advantages of a land of freedom. He was convinced it would be attended with the most salutary effects, and strongly recommended its consideration to the committee.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* said he could not agree in sentiment, on so enlarged a scale as the Hon. Baronet. It could not be forgotten, that some years ago a bill similar to this, was so unpopular in England, that it was thought necessary to repeal the bill the session after its enactment. He had no objection, on his part, to any description of foreigners; he would therefore move an amendment, that the benefit of the act should be extended to all persons professing the Christian religion.

Sir *Lucius O'Brien* said, that in England, where there were many wealthy Jews, there might be some shew of political reason for giving them the rights of citizens, but here, where there were no Jews, no such apology existed.

Mr. *Griffith* rose to acknowledge the justice and liberality of the Hon. Baronet's (Sir Hercules Langrishe) reasoning. He said the question was, whether we would admit a number of wealthy traders and manufacturers, who professed religious tenets, though different from our's, yet such as taught them perfect obedience to the laws of the land. He deplored the poverty of this country, and thought it consistent with good policy to invite wealthy and industrious men to settle amongst us, let their religion or complexion be what it might.

Sir *John Blaquiére* observed, that by a law at present in force, the Jews were entitled to an asylum in this kingdom, yet it was not found since that act was passed, that many of those people had settled here. And this would be easily accounted for, on the principle of the well-known disposition of the Jews, whose aims were directed to no country, but where they could get money. Even in such places as dragged them to a level of infamy, a wish of gain had made them acquiesce under every insult. In Genoa, they were condemned to be marked from the rest of the community, by wearing a yellow hat; in Venice, a similar decree obliged them to wear a blue one, and are prohibited from mixing with the people. As no discouragement

can deter them where they have a hope of accumulating wealth; so, on the contrary, no motive can induce them to settle in a country where they are not stimulated by the incentive of gain. The opposition which the Jews naturalization bill received in England, both in parliament and from the people, is too recent not to be well known. Even Spain and Portugal were alarmed at the event, and in consequence, both crowns remonstrated so far on that head, with the ministry of England, as to threaten the revocation of their commercial treaties; the act was accordingly repealed. He wished, he said, to see men of property and ingenious manufacturers settle in this kingdom, yet it was well known though the Jews were wealthy, they were so tenacious of that wealth, as not to suffer it to diffuse general good to any nation; and they were at no period known to encourage the arts or manufactures.

Mr. George Ponsonby observed, that giving opposition to the bill, because the unfortunate Jews were condemned to wear a yellow hat in Genoa, and a blue hat in Venice, was arguing from an odious abuse, and not from the liberality of reason. A contrary practice of the ill-treatment those people met with in other countries, might be the very liberal means of inviting them to settle among us. As to the precedent alluded to of opposition to the Jews bill in England, it could not be of any force in the present case, as it was carried on to serve the purposes of party, and to render the Duke of Newcastle unpopular, under a mask of a pretended regard to religion. But the Duke penetrating into the views which directed this opposition, and a general election approaching, he defeated the design, by making a merit of the repeal of this act. If English opposition, he said, was to be allowed as sound argument, against the propriety of the present bill, they might on the same ground of reasoning, condemn the humane and liberal laws in favour of the Roman Catholics, because Lord George Gordon and the protestant association, from the worst of motives, had opposed such laws in England. The remonstrances made against the Jews' bill by Spain and Portugal, should furnish the greatest reasons for our giving those people an asylum. The opposition of those nations did not arise from religious motives, but from the dread of the injuries that would arise in holding out any incentive for drawing so useful a class from amongst them. As he was fully convinced, he said, of the utility of the bill, he would therefore oppose the amendment.

Sir John Blaquiere said, if the Hon. Gentleman had taken the trouble to inform himself a little better on this subject, he would know that Spain and Portugal could not have proceeded on the principle of jealousy, which he had suggested, as neither country suffered any Jews to remain amongst them, but roasted them alive whenever they found them.

The amendment was then negatived without a division.

This amendment being disposed of,

Sir *Lucius O'Brien* moved, that the words, "during their residence here" be inserted.

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* opposed the Hon. Baronet's amendment, on the principle of its restricting the benefits of the bill, which was calculated to give a general naturalization to all foreigners. It would be also difficult to ascertain how long they might stay in the kingdom.

Right Hon. the *Provost*.—I profess myself a friend, Sir, to this bill, both on account of its humane and liberal spirit, and because I am of opinion it will materially serve my country. It will, Sir, give foreigners of property an opportunity of settling here, as they will be vested by law with a power of purchasing land. If we put the *alien duty* in competition with a bill, calculated as this is, to promote the public interest, it will be found so insignificant and trifling as to deserve no consideration. However, I think that they ought to give some security of making this their place of residence during life.

The amendment was afterwards put and negatived.

The Speaker took the chair, and Mr. Corry reported.

Mr. *George Ponsonby* moved, That leave be given to bring in a bill for the better collection of his Majesty's revenue, and for preventing frauds therein.

Mr. *Corry* begged to know if this was only a revival of the present revenue bill, or whether it contained new matter.

The *Attorney General* said, the best way for the Hon. Gentleman to know that, would be by attending the committee.

Sir *John Blaquiere* said, he thought the question quite parliamentary, as it went to enquire what the learned gentleman intended to lay before the committee, and which, if he did not approve, he might oppose before it went thither.

Mr. *Chatterton* said he had never known a refusal to answer so fair, so parliamentary a question. A polite answer he thought was a compliment due to every member of the House upon such an occasion.

Mr. *Corry*.—I have always known such questions as that which I took the liberty of putting to the learned gentleman, immediately and candidly answered. I do assure him, that it was not to embarrass or oppose the bill I made that enquiry, but to know whether I might not leave town for a few days, which I would do if his bill was a renewal of that which now exists: but indeed I did not expect to have been so answered. I must now observe, that there is an off-hand conciseness which characterizes the speeches of the Right Hon. Gentleman, and which I am convinced the House wishes to have laid aside. If ever

there was a proper occasion for enquiring into the purport of a bill proposed it is this, when the property of every man in the state is concerned. Yet this bill, of such enormous consequence, is moved with an unusual degree of precipitation; nor can I think it either polite or decent for one gentleman to bounce up in his place, and hastily move such a bill without any explanation or comment, and another gentleman to bounce in his place, and reply to a person who enquires into its tendency—"attend the committee and you will know what it contains."

Right Hon. Mr. *Beresford* assured Mr. Corry, that he had risen immediately upon his question to give him all possible satisfaction, but had not the good fortune to be attended to. The title of the bill shewed that it differed from the former, but this difference was only in matters of regulation, not in principle or any essential point; and he believed that the Hon. Gentleman, and every man who approved the present bill, would more strongly approve that which was about to be introduced.

Mr. *George Ponsonby* said, it was also his intention to explain to the Hon. Gentleman that the new bill contained no extraneous matter, and only differed from the former in points of regulation.

Mr. *Chatterton* adverted to a clause in the last revenue bill, by which judges of assize have a power of reducing damages found against any revenue officer for misdemeanour in the execution of his office, and complained of it as everfive of the trial by jury.

Leave was given, and Mr. George Ponsonby, the Right Hon. Mr. Attorney General, the Right Hon. Mr. Prime Serjeant, Mr. Solicitor General, and the Right Hon. Mr. Foster, were ordered to prepare and bring in the same.

Mr. *Montgomery* (of Donegal) said he was informed that each officer of the military when employed in seizing unstatutable stills had been allowed two guineas, each serjeant one, each corporal half a guinea, and a crown to each of the privates; as this he thought was a prodigal distribution of public money, he should move, that the proper officer do lay before this House an account of the sums that have been expended in premiums to the military officers and their parties, and to the revenue officers and their parties, specifying the sums paid to each party; and in what districts, and what sums have been paid for the use of the public from those informations, for two years last past.

Mr. *Beresford* replied, he never knew any money accepted by the commissioned officers for this service. The non-commissioned officers and privates were indeed allowed a compensation for their trouble.—Ordered.

Mr. *Attorney General*—There is an order, Mr. Speaker, for the attendance of two gentlemen, for preferring a frivolous petition

against the Kilmallock election. I, Sir, had the honour of making the motion for that order, merely to support the privileges of this House. These gentlemen are now at the bar, and promise, in future, to give the corporation no disturbance. I hold their petition in my hand, and as they have given every satisfaction, I move that the order for their attendance be discharged.

The order was accordingly discharged.

Mr. *Attorney General* rose again and said, that as Daniel and Thomas Widdenhams had made every apology for past behaviour, and had promised to conduct themselves better in future, he therefore declared publicly in his place, that he would never think it worth his while to make them pay the costs. He then moved, that the order for compelling them to pay the costs be discharged.—Ordered.

House in committee on the insolvent bill, Lord Delvin in the chair.

The names of those in actual confinement, specifying the different prisons, were read.

Mr. *Toler* moved that the petition of James Burne, of Carlow, Gent. against Sarah Murphy and Edmund Rotke's being included in the act, be read.

Mr. *Chatterton*.—I object to any person's being excluded by name. The bill is calculated to prevent fraud; for the debtor is compelled, on oath, to deliver up his effects, and if found guilty of fraud, is liable to be punished as a felon without benefit of clergy. By the laws of the twelve tables, which were accounted very cruel, that unfortunate debtor who could not pay his debts, was torn in pieces and his limbs divided among his creditors, in proportion to what he owed them respectively. But you enact a crueller punishment; for what death can be more terrible and lingering than a perpetual imprisonment? The judges are left a power by the bill to determine in the case of those unhappy people, and I call on the humanity of the House not to pass so severe a sentence on them. I declare upon my honour, and on my conscience, I have taken every precaution against fraud in the framing of the bill, and therefore hope and conjure the House to let the bill pass in its present form.

Mr. *Toler*.—If we receive petitions against debtors, and do not enter into their merits, it will be absurd to have a schedule at all. In the petition in question there are witnesses at the bar ready to prove on oath, that the persons in custody have property sufficient to pay their creditors. If any must be imprisoned, it is much more proper the lot should fall on them than the petitioner, who only became their security. I am no friend to romantic notions of humanity at the expence of justice.

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Mr. Chatterton.—No person can be included in the act whose name is not in the schedule—The debtor has so many forms to go through, that he is excluded all possibility of fraud—he must give notice to his creditors, and the matter is to be tried before the judges of the superior court—It is not consistent with the honour, with the humanity of this House, to condemn a miserable object to perpetual imprisonment, because an Hon. Gentleman makes a motion of course; besides, it is hearing only one of the parties, while the wretched debtor, with a surrounding family, is immured within the dreary walls of a miserable prison, and has not the opportunity to lay his case before you; I beseech you, I call on the humanity of the House to avoid those exclusions. I have had applications made to me by several respectable friends of mine to present petitions against the unfortunate. In any other instance I could not prevail with myself to refuse them any request, but in this I declined preferring their petitions, and referred them to the judges. However, as I hope I have done my duty, I will leave it to the humanity of the House to determine.

The question being put, there appeared for excluding them,

Ayes,	—	—	21
Noes,	—	—	18

Majority,	—	—	3
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The Speaker having resumed the chair, and Lord Delvin reported some progress, the committee was ordered again for Thursday.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 3, 1784.

Mr. William Ponsonby presented, from the county of Kilkenny, a petition, which he said was signed by more than thirty gentlemen, &c. praying a reform in the parliamentary representation of this kingdom, consonant to the plan proposed by the convention.

He also presented a petition from the county of Kilkenny, signed by upwards of three hundred gentlemen, &c. praying that no innovation might be suffered to take place in the parliamentary representation of this kingdom, especially upon such a complex, partial and ineffectual plan as that offered to the House; declaring the petitioners perfect satisfaction at the security and happiness they enjoy under our present free constitution, and expressing their firm reliance on the House to preserve that constitution inviolate.

Mr. Molyneux was sure the motion he was going to make, must, as a matter of course, meet the approbation of gentlemen

on both sides of the House. To permit gentlemen holding high offices in this country, to reside in another, was a practice of a destructive nature. A few days since, gentlemen on the other side of the House were profuse in their encomiums on Lord Northington, for his provident bargain of giving 2,500*l.* for 1,500*l.* a year. In consistency, therefore, they were bound to support his motion, which had respect to the end they professed themselves friendly to. These gentlemen had applauded Lord Northington's bargain with Mr. Hamilton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the ground that it would be for the public interest, that an officer of such importance should be efficient and resident. His motion had a tendency to that end: he did not, therefore, see how they could oppose it. But let other gentlemen think as they may, to him the conduct of that administration had appeared to pregnant with ruin and disgrace, that he sincerely wished this country was never cursed with such another. If Mr. Hamilton be not equal or willing to discharge his office, he ought to resign it. He then moved, that it is the opinion of this House, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland ought to be resident in the kingdom.

The *Attorney General* said he had no objection, if the Hon. Mover permitted him to make an amendment of only one word, by adding "henceforward" to the motion.

Mr. *Molyneux* objected to the amendment, as there might be some hidden meaning under it.

The *Attorney General* said, his meaning was, to prevent any stigma being thrown on the character of a very worthy and respectable gentleman. He had not the honour of knowing him but from fame; however, that justice due from man to man, should call on gentlemen to use every precaution against any thing that could, by any implication, convey the most remote censure on a very honourable character. In supposing that he could have any hidden meaning, the Hon. Member had given him credit for more ingenuity than he possessed.

Right Hon. the *Provoost*.—It is not, I am convinced, the intention of this House, or of the Hon. Mover, to fix a stigma on one of the worthiest gentlemen living. It is not, Sir, consistent with the justice of the Commons of Ireland, to cast imputations on a very honourable character, unheard. As such a resolution implies a sort of censure, why is it confined to a particular gentleman? Why, if it be requisite, not make it general? There are many other offices of the first rank and importance, which are filled by non-residents. I hope, therefore, the Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Molyneux) will treat them all in the same manner, and not select Mr. Hamilton as an object of particular attention, especially as the negotiation now on foot, will render the motion unnecessary, by which I understand the

office is to be transferred to a Right Hon. Gentleman, who as able to discharge the duties of it, as any man, without exception, in either country. I feel myself called on to oppose the motion, both from public motives and private respect for a very worthy character, with whom I have the honour of a long and intimate acquaintance; as its peculiarity looks like a censure on the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Were the motion to be extended to all who possess offices, and are absent from this country, it would include Mr. Rigby, and some other characters much esteemed in this country. I must also oppose the amendment proposed by my Right Hon. Friend (the Attorney General) under me, as conveying an implication of censure, I am sure, from his usual candour, he did not intend. The word *henceforward* has a retrospect to what is past, and in my mind should be omitted.

Mr. *Griffith* said, he wished zealously to extend this motion to every absentee officer.

Sir *John Blaquiere* said he was against it, whether applied in general, or to particulars; and in order to give the honourable member an opportunity of re-considering it, and consulting his friends on the subject, he would call for the order of the day, which he was in some degree entitled to do, having given way to his motion, supposing it a motion of course.

Mr. *Chatterton* rose to give his most hearty assent to the motion; the salary was great, and something should be done for it.

The *Attorney General* said when he proposed the amendment, he had not the most distant idea of throwing the least imputation on Mr. Hamilton, he did not think it capable of such interpretation, however as a Right Hon. Gentleman (the Provost) behind, thought otherwise, he would withdraw it.

Sir *Richard Musgrave* supposed gentlemen proceeded on the patriotic principle, that the influence of the crown was too great in Ireland, and therefore they wished to keep the Chancellor of the Exchequer absent in England.

Right Hon. Mr. *Brownlow*—I am not only of opinion with the Right Honourable the Attorney General, that no censure is conveyed by the amendment, but am persuaded that the original motion, so far from being a mark of disapprobation, is a testimony of our respect for the Chancellor of the Exchequer; for were he an insignificant or bad man, we should not be desirous of bringing him among us; but as he is a gentleman of worth, and a very honourable character, we wish to have his company.

Mr. *Corry* was against the motion, as he respected the character of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and as he thought it improper to be constantly troubling the House with such a puerile

impetuosity; he begged leave to recommend more maturity of consideration to the Hon. Member (Mr. Molyneux) in future.

Mr. *Molyneux* said, he admired the character of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as much as any man who had spoken in his favour; but he was shocked at the idea of a treaty to give him 2,500*l.* pension; and he thought compelling his residence would be the most effectual bar to that pension. He said he had no objection to include the Master of the Rolls in his motion; and if it was the desire of the House, he would. But he was sorry to find himself deserted by his friends, and by the Right Hon. Gentleman who had seemed to promise him support, and even made an amendment to facilitate his motion; such volatile and unsteady conduct he thought unbecoming the gravity and importance of his office.

He withdrew his motion, giving notice that in a few days he would again introduce it.

Mr. *George Ponsonby* said, the Hon. Gentleman seemed equally unacquainted with the interest which Mr. Hamilton had in his office, and with the negotiation which had been talked of, and which he denied to be as represented. Mr. Hamilton, he said, had a life interest in his office, it was his freehold, and the House could no more deprive him of it than it could him (Mr. Ponsonby) of his estate; as therefore, the House could not compel him to reside by taking his office in case of refusal, it could not be supposed that Mr. Hamilton, contrary to his interest and his inclination, would, in obedience to a vote of that House, either resign his office or reside in Ireland.

Mr. *Brownlow* said it was a new method to debate a question after it was withdrawn

Mr. *Molyneux* said, he had been declared ignorant of the negotiation concerning Mr. Hamilton's place. He admitted that all his knowledge of that transaction was what had been mentioned by Lord Northington's advocates in that House. But as to the power of the Commons of Ireland, he believed, Mr. Hamilton would treat it with more respect than the learned gentleman did, especially as he was palpably wrong in point of law, for the tenure by which Mr. Hamilton held his office, was *quamdiu se bene gesserit*, and whether total and perpetual absence was consonant to that tenure he submitted to the House.

The House then discharged some persons who had been arrested, when attending on a committee; and ordered the deputy serjeant at arms of the court of Exchequer, and his bailiff who had arrested them, to attend at the bar to-morrow.

THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 1784.

Alderman *Warren* moved, That leave be given to bring in a bill for paving, cleansing, lighting, watching and better regulating the police of the city of Dublin.—Ordered, and that Alderman *Warren* and Lord *Delvin* do prepare and bring in the same.

The House, according to order, resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into further consideration a bill for relief of insolvent debtors, *William Meade Ogle, Esq;* in the chair.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* moved, that the name of *William Bayly*, an uncertified bankrupt, be expunged, as an improper object of the bill, and the more so as there was a petition signed by three of his creditors against him.

Mr. *Greene* said, that having in a former session moved for precluding this bankrupt from the benefit of an insolvent bill, then depending, he had, consistent therewith, also opposed his receiving the benefit of the present act. But having had time, during the recess, to inform himself of the real circumstances and case of this unfortunate gentleman, he could say, on the most thorough conviction, that he did not know any individual, who was more truly an object of the bill. It was true, three of his creditors had petitioned against him, but annexed to *Bayly's* petition, which he held in his hand, was also a petition signed by thirty of his creditors, which constituted a large majority, both in number and value. He had found the situation of Mr. *Bayly* to be uncommonly affecting, for instead of the affluence which concealing his effects might enable him to enjoy, he was himself, with a wife and seven children, struggling with every want, in prison. If any actual benefit could accrue to his creditors, by thus debarring him of his liberty, he (Mr. *Greene*) would not become the advocate of his enlargement; but the unhappy man had been already five years imprisoned, and nothing but the indulgence of an uncommendable rigour could warrant the continuance of his misery. Satisfied that he had rendered up his all, and was an individual, greatly misrepresented, he thought him the most proper of all the objects to which the humanity of the present bill should be extended; particularly as he could be enabled thereby, to assist in getting in the debts due to him, and render all the justice in his power to his creditors.

Mr. *Annesley* said that the bill before the committee would repeal the bankruptcy laws. Mr. *Bayly* had been examined by the commissioners of bankruptcy, who found the nature of his case such, that they could not grant him a certificate. He would,

therefore, be for allowing gentlemen time to enquire into the matter, and moved, that it be postponed till to-morrow.

Right Hon. *Luke Gardiner*—This gentleman was treasurer to the county of Dublin, and was very much in debt, but his affairs were in such a situation, that when the grand jury insisted on his accounting for, and paying the county money, he could pay but 1,500*l.* which on account of his embarrassment, they were well satisfied with. But Mr. Bayly has a great many debts due to him, and it is probable, if he were allowed a reasonable time, would be able to satisfy his creditors. I really, Sir, do not well know how to vote on this occasion, though I am inclined to think it would be for the advantage of his creditors if he were enlarged, as he would then possess many opportunities of acquiring wherewithal to satisfy them, which his present confinement precludes him from.

Mr. *Hartley* said, that if he had conformed to the bankrupt law, and delivered his effects to assignees, the Lord Chancellor would have ordered a commission, and he would, after the usual proceedings, be discharged.

The *Attorney General*—This gentleman has a wife and a great many children, on whom his confinement brings numerous difficulties. I have a petition in my hand, which sets forth his sufferings in the most affecting manner, and states that four-fifths of his creditors, in value, have given their consent to his enlargement. Is it consistent with the justice and humanity of the House, to gratify an obstinate creditor so far as to decree to severe a sentence as perpetual imprisonment against the unhappy debtor? Is it not rather the interest of the creditor, that he should be enlarged? He is a man of profession, and would, if restored to his liberty, be restored to many opportunities of acquiring money to pay his debts, which he is now deprived of.

Mr. *Chatterton* said, if gentlemen wished to postpone this unfortunate man's case, on the principle of gaining information, he thought deferring it altogether unnecessary. He had proposed this bill so far back as the 10th of November, which, in his mind, was allowing full time for the members to make themselves acquainted with it. If the committee postponed it now, Mr. Bayly would not be affected alone; several other unhappy persons in custody would have their unhappiness prolonged. They all threw themselves on the humanity of parliament, and he hoped parliament would not disappoint them. As for him, he would candidly acknowledge his wishes that the time would soon arrive when imprisonment should be no longer the punishment of debt. It was against the principle of the common law, and an innovation on it, which he earnestly hoped would shortly have an end.

Sir *Henry Cavendish*—If gentlemen are willing to go into the merits of this matter, I know the situation of Bayly to be different from what it is represented. He made a concealment of his effects, in transgression of the bankrupt-laws, and deserves the severest punishment that can be inflicted. Gentlemen call on our humanity in his favour, and tell us of his wife and many children; but do not the many wives and children of the defrauded creditors also claim our humanity? Humanity is a fine thing, and so is popularity. We are on that account, I suppose, to gain a little public favour by sacrificing the creditor.—But in point of law, justice and equity, we ought to consider the situation of the creditor, as well as that of the debtor.

Mr. *Foster* was for postponing the committee, as a fraudulent return had been made from one of the goals, and gentlemen should have time to enquire into it.

It being then moved, that Mr. Ogle do leave the chair, and the Speaker having resumed it, Mr. Meade Ogle reported from the committee that they had made some further progress in the matter to them referred, and that he was directed by the committee to desire leave to sit again.

Alderman *Warren* presented a petition of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, commons and citizens of the city of Dublin, in common council assembled, praying that the bounty on the inland carriage of corn may be put on its former footing.

The House, according to order, resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration a bill for regulating the corn trade, promoting agriculture, and providing a regular and steady supply of corn in this kingdom, Mr. Bolton in the chair.

Mr. *Foster* moved, that no bounty be granted on corn imported, till it rises to 30s. per barrel. Though he mentioned 30s. he left it to the House to insert 28s. in lieu of it, if it should, on consideration, appear proper. The bill, he said, was calculated to supply this country with corn, and to encourage agriculture. He also submitted to the consideration of the committee, whether it would not be expedient to grant a bounty on the exportation on foreign corn when more was imported than could find sale, and when the price was lower than that before mentioned.

General *Luttrell* thought the price mentioned too high. It was his wish to let the poor eat bread, he would therefore be for substituting 27s.

Sir *Lucius O'Brien* said, that the bounties on corn had not made it cheaper. By one clause of the bill, the miller was to take an oath as to facts, and as he was an interested person, it was only holding out temptation to perjury.

Sir *John Parnell* said, that when corn was low, agriculture was checked; but this law would make importation salutary, when corn was above 28s.

Mr. *Corry*—I cannot pretend to be as conversant in this subject as some other gentlemen. I come from a mountainous part of the kingdom, and know that the poor are in a starving condition.—I know that those manufacturers who are the support of this country, are in a miserable situation. Gentlemen say, that this bill will give them relief; but this is saying, “Live, horse, and you shall have grass:” in the mean time, the people will starve.—The south of Ireland grows a great deal of corn, and the price is low, but in the north they have little corn, and the price is high, and consumption great—I am sensible the bill will operate in favour of the poor and the interest of the country; for by giving a bounty on the exportation of corn, when below a certain price, you give encouragement to the farmer to promote the culture of corn.

Mr. *Toler* objected to the administering an oath to the miller, who was an interested person, and liable to the temptation of committing frauds to get the bounty.

Mr. *Foster* said, that as the law is now understood, no foreign corn could be imported till the price of corn was 36s. per barrel. He had received a great number of letters from England, and entertained many doubts on the price. In England it is 1*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* and as we must look up to England, as our best corn market, he would wish we kept as near them as possible in this respect.—However, as he was of opinion that it would be more advantageous to make the price too low than too high, he would submit it to the committee whether 30*s.* were not a proper sum.

Right Hon. the *Secretary of State* was against making any alterations in the constitutional mode of striking the averages, as prescribed by the laws now in being. The bill before the committee took the determination of this matter from the juries, and transferred it to certain men, hired at 2*s.* per week, to transmit the price of corn from each market town to Dublin. The present bill ordered the average to be made in Dublin, which, on many accounts, he thought inconvenient.—He then moved, that the words “to be ascertained by the laws now in being,” be added to the clause. His reason, he said, for making this amendment was, that in the north of Ireland there existed a great scarcity of corn, while in the south they had more than they could consume, and it was fit the people should have bread, and at as cheap a rate as possible.

Mr. *Gardiner* said, the average price of corn was well struck in Dublin, and recommended the mode of transmitting the prices from each market town to Dublin: the average price for the whole kingdom of England was, he said, struck in London, and he never heard any complaint of it.

Mr. *Foster* submitted to the consideration of gentlemen, the propriety of pointing out those towns, whence returns of the price of corn should be made to prevent their being made by ignorant men, and to take care it should be under the inspection of the magistrate. Such persons, he said, were appointed in England.

That the average price of corn should be ascertained in Dublin, passed in the negative without a division.

Mr. *Hartley* moved, that 28s. be substituted in place of 30s.

The amendment was negatived without a division.

Mr. *Foster's* motion was then agreed to.

Alderman *Warren* moved for an increase of the bounty on the inland carriage of wheat and oats.

Mr. *Foster* said, as that subject had been under discussion for three or four sessions, and that the present bounty had been approved of, though he had a great respect for the opinion of the Hon. Mover, yet as he could not then join in opinion with the Hon. Gentleman, he hoped he would not insist on the motion in so thin a House, especially as it was a matter of importance, but that he would take an opportunity to-morrow, when the House would be full.

Alderman *Warren* agreed to postpone the motion.

The Speaker then resumed the chair, and Mr. *Bolton* reported from the committee that they had made some progress in the matter to them referred, and that he was directed by the committee to desire leave to sit again,

Mr. *Alcock* presented to the House, according to order, a bill for regulating the police of the city of Waterford; which was received and read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow morning.

Alderman *Warren* moved, That an humble address be presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, desiring that he will be pleased to give directions to the proper officers to lay before this House all informations relative to the high prices of corn returned for two years last past, and which are now lying in the public offices.

Ordered, That the said address be presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant by such members of this House as are of his Majesty's most honourable privy council.

Mr. *Corry* presented a petition of the inhabitants of Newry, convened by public notice from the seneschal, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Mr. *Mason*, according to order, reported from the committee appointed to take into consideration a bill for raising and establishing a fund for a provision for the widows and children of the clergy of the church of Ireland, that they had gone through the said bill, paragraph by paragraph, and made several amendments

thereto, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table.

FRIDAY, MARCH 5, 1784.

The proper officer, pursuant to order, presented to the House, an account of the pensions that have been placed on the civil establishment during Lord Northington's administration.

Ordered, That the committee appointed to enquire into the state of the coal trade in the city of Dublin, and the combinations entered into between the coal factors, masters of ships, masters and owners of gabbards, and the coal carmen, be empowered to examine, in the most solemn manner, such persons as they shall think proper upon the subject matter of the said enquiry.

Ordered, That the several returns of the annual amount of the tax laid on the different parishes of the city of Dublin, and the suburbs thereof, for the payment of watchmen, and also the number of watchmen kept in each parish respectively, and also for the purpose of lighting the public lamps in said city, now lying on the table, be referred to the committee appointed to enquire into the causes of the present dangerous and neglected state of the streets of this city.

The House, according to order, resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into further consideration a bill for relief of insolvent debtors; Mr. Marcus Beresford, in the chair.

Hon. *Richard Annesley* humanely observed, when the name of William Bayly was read, that he was a gentleman unfortunately situated, as some others were, against whom a commission of bankruptcy had issued; that some of their creditors were obdurate, and in such a case as the law then stood, it was not discretionary in the Chancellor to grant the certificate; there was not any thing more, or uncommon in this case; he had been some years in confinement, and therefore he hoped, there would not be any exceptionary clauses against him, as he was willing to comply with the bankruptcy laws.—The question being put on the exception against Mr. Bayly, it was negatived unanimously.

The *Speaker* having resumed the chair, Mr. *Marcus Beresford* reported from the committee, that they had made some further progress in the matter to them referred, and that he was directed by the committee to desire leave to sit again.

Waddel Cunningham, Esq; took the usual oaths, and his seat for Carrickfergus.

Mr. *Montgomery* (of Donegal) moved, That the proper officer should lay before the House, a list of all vessels employed as re-

venue cruizers, specifying the expence incurred by each, for four years last past.

Mr. *Grattan* said, he was glad to have it in his power to give the Honourable Gentleman the information he desired, having on a former occasion moved for a paper to the same purport, which he was ready to lay before the House, or the Honourable Gentleman.

Mr. *Montgomery* then moved, That the proper officer should lay before the House the several sums of money paid to the king's council, barristers, &c. &c. in support of revenue suits, together with the expence of all such suits, and specifying the expence incurred by each, also the sums paid for private information, alias secret service money, for four years last past.

Right Honourable Mr. *Beresford*—I have always great satisfaction in giving gentlemen every information in whatever relates to the revenue department, and have no manner of objection to the present motion, but that it supposes a circumstance not founded on fact; there is no such thing as secret service money ever given by the board, nor have they power, even if they were so inclined; as to private informations in matters of great importance to the revenue, and where it would be highly improper to make known the informers name, the board have sometimes, though very rarely, rewarded them with small sums. I have had the honour to sit twenty years at the board, and can recollect but two or three instances; in one case the board ordered five guineas, and in another ten; and even these were not secret transactions, for the board drew regular drafts on the collector for these sums, and he took credit for them in his accounts. I therefore, Sir, cannot consent to let the motion pass with these words, secret service, because they imply a practice that does not exist, and I shall move you to amend the resolution by leaving them out.

Sir *John Parnell*—Those words ought not to stand upon the journals of the House, because they convey either an implication that the board has a power to disburse sums of money for secret service, which is not the fact, or they insinuate that the board is in the practice of disbursing such sums, which is not fact either. In the first case they imply a power which the board ought not to have; and in the other, they insinuate a censure which the board does not deserve, and for an abuse which does not exist.

The Hon. Gentleman must know that the moiety of goods forfeited is given to the informer by law, and therefore cannot be within the meaning of his resolution.

Mr. *Montgomery* having consented to expunge the words, "secret service,"

And the question being put, it was ordered accordingly.

Mr. *Rowley* presented a petition of the freeholders of the county of Antrim, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

He also presented a petition of the inhabitants of Belfast, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Mr. *Brooke* presented a petition of the high sheriff and freeholders of the county of Donegal, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Hon. Mr. *Ward* presented a petition of the freeholders of the county of Down, convened by public notice, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Sir *Richard Johnston*.—By favour of the Honourable Gentleman who presented this petition, I have been indulged with a view of it, and I perceive that in one place there are an hundred and fifty names signed by one hand, in another place forty, in another twenty, and so on; by such means I do not think it would be very difficult to obtain a petition that would reach from hence to Down. But this I aver, that the counter-petition which acknowledges the security and freedom we enjoy, under our present happy constitution, and prays for a continuance thereof, is signed by five-sixths of the proprietary of the county of Down. In the parish where I live, there are one hundred and fifty freeholders who have signed it; they all voted for the Hon. Gentleman. Yet now he returns their kindness, by bringing in a petition in opposition to their sentiments.

Mr. *Annesley* presented a memorial of the there undersigned freeholders of the county of Down, setting forth that the petition presented to the House, intitled “a petition of the freeholders of the county of Down, convened by public notice,” can and ought to be regarded as the petition of such freeholders only as were present at the meeting so convened; and memorialists believe the contents of said petition are not agreeable to the sense and opinion of the majority of the freeholders of the said county, and that memorialists hope our present happy constitution, as settled under the glorious revolution of 1688, will be transmitted entire and inviolate to latest posterity.

Mr. *W. T. Jones* said, he was instructed to say, that the counter petition was not the sense of the freeholders of the county.—There was a request made, he said, to an Honourable Member of the House, when an officer of great power in the county of Down, to convene the freeholders, he had declined complying, and had very fairly given his reasons. But the freeholders had afterwards met, when they had full time to consider the subject; they had not then declared the sentiments contained in the counter petition, and he was instructed to say, that the powerful influence of landlords had been exerted to obtain names to it.

Sir *Richard Johnston*.—The Hon. Gentleman speaks as he is instructed—I speak of my own knowledge, that the gentlemen who

have signed the counter petition possess five-sixths of the property of the county of Down.

Hon. Mr. *Annesley*.—As I have been alluded to in this conversation, I think it but necessary to say, that I did refuse to assemble the county, and that I would do the same again; I gave my reasons for so doing; and as not one of them has ever been controverted, I must suppose they were conclusive. It is said the counter petition is not the sense of the county.—Now I assert the contrary—I held an election of the county of Down—I know the voters, and I am convinced, with the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, that five-sixths of the proprietary are contained in the counter petition. A very long list of names has indeed been presented to the House as petitioners for a change in a parliamentary representation; but if they were enough to reach to Lisburn to the constitutional club, whose attempts may throw disgrace on themselves, though they can never affect me, it would not change my sentiments.

Mr. *Jones* replied.—He spoke highly in praise of the constitutional society, as men who actuated by public spirit, had exerted themselves to oppose a disgraceful aristocracy, and give freedom to their country.

Mr. *Leslie* presented a petition of the freeholders of the county of Monaghan, praying a reform in the present state of the representation of the people in the parliament of this kingdom.

Maxwell and another bailiff called to the bar, for having arrested a gentleman when attending on a committee of the House.—It having appeared, that this gentleman had not produced the order of the House as a supercedence of the arrest,

Alderman *Warren* said, that if every man was to be set at large who declared that he was attending a committee of the House, or who had even verbal orders from a member of any committee to attend, much inconvenience would ensue; for if a debtor was seen in custody, the sheriff became answerable for him; and nothing less than the written order of the House could justify him in discharging a person once arrested.

Right Honourable *Luke Gardiner* reported from the committee appointed to enquire into the trade and manufactures of Ireland: He said, he had not been permitted, as was his wish and intention, to arrange the evidence under different heads, but now presented it word for word as written down by the clerk. He begged the House would observe, that two different subjects had been objects of the committee's attention—first, the expediency of laying duties on foreign manufactures when imported into Ireland; and second, the laying of duties on linen and woollen yarn when exported to foreign markets. He intended to bring forward the first of these subjects only this session, and thought it necessary to declare

so much, because he knew there was an intention to confound both together, that the country might not receive the benefit of either. He therefore hoped gentlemen would have this in their minds, and keep these two objects as separate and distinct as possible.

The Right Honourable Mr. *Secretary of State* presented to the House, according to order, a bill for the relief of prisoners charged with felony, or other crimes, who shall be acquitted or discharged by proclamation, respecting their fees, and giving a recompence for such fees; which was received and read a first time.

Mr. *Chatterton* objected to the bill, as encroaching on the rights of a very respectable set of men, the clerks of the crown, whose interests would be greatly injured by such a bill passing into a law.

The *Secretary of State* said, the bill was warranted by the example of a neighbouring kingdom, by the laws of the land, and by every principle of humanity; but this he said was not the time to debate it; when it came to be discussed, he trusted the Hon. Gentleman would alter his opinion.

Mr. *Holmes*—I cannot express my astonishment at the opposition given by the Honourable Member to this bill—If ever there was a subject that called more loudly than any other, upon the humanity of gentlemen, it is this; England has set us the example, and there are at this moment numbers languishing in confinement that we ought to relieve. What can be more horrible than to detain in a dreary dungeon a man whose innocence has been declared by his country! To shut him up without even bread and water; for the miserable allowance which is dealt out in scanty portion to the prisoner who has not yet been tried, is withheld from the innocent man the moment he is acquitted by his country, and has proved that he should not have been a prisoner at all. But, Sir, if this bill be combated, every principle of humanity must be combated; which makes it impossible to reconcile this opposition with that tenderness of heart and benevolence of disposition which induced the Honourable Gentleman to introduce a bill, and take uncommon pains to get it passed, in order to relieve from prison persons not so miserable as the objects of the bill now before us.

Mr. *Attorney General*—I am astonished any gentleman who has the least respect to the suffering of his fellow-creatures, can oppose the present bill. If the unhappy situation of those confined for debt, has been sufficient to call forth the humane interposition of this House, surely those deserve that interposition more, who ought not to have been confined at all. I shall, Sir, make no scruple of delivering my decided opinion, as a lawyer, that detaining a man acquitted by his country, in execution for non-pay-

ment of fees, is not only inhuman, but contrary to the law of the land; and whoever was guilty of such abuse, made himself liable to an heavy action. If fees of this kind were due of right to the clerks of the crown and others, they ought to proceed in the usual mode of recovering common debts, and should by no means arrogate to themselves not only the judicial powers, but also the execution of the sentence. I have, not long since, served the office of sheriff in a very great and respectable county, and was so convinced not only of the cruelty, but also of the illegality of detaining those who had been acquitted by the laws of their country, that I constantly ordered them to be immediately discharged from prison. When the jailor and others began to murmur, I informed them, they had their option to take their actions either against the discharged or me, if they thought proper to make the experiment.

Mr. Monck Mason—It is very extraordinary indeed that a gentleman who introduces a bill to discharge from prison every man in the kingdom confined for debt, though many of them are of very doubtful character, should oppose a bill extending the same advantage to another class of men, whose innocence has been declared by their country; but the Honourable Gentleman, conscious that his opposition never can be maintained on principles of justice or humanity, declares, that he is only attentive to the interest of certain persons. I hope when he examines the bill, and finds that the interests of those persons are provided for, his opposition will drop.

The question being put, that the said bill be read a second time to-morrow morning.—It was carried in the affirmative.

Ordered, -That the said bill be printed.

Mr. Hamilton, by order of his Grace the Lord Lieutenant pursuant to their address to his Grace, presented to the House,

The informations received by government relative to the high price of corn in different parts of the kingdom for the two years last past.

The titles whereof were read, and the said informations ordered to lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

The order of the day, that the House do resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into further consideration a bill for regulating the corn trade, promoting agriculture, and providing a regular and steady supply of corn within this kingdom, being upon motion read,

Resolved, That this House will, to-morrow at two of the clock, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take the said bill into consideration; and that no other business do intervene.

Ordered, That the said committee be impowered to receive a clause to give power to the Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors, with the advice of the privy council, whenever it shall appear that a scarcity of oats exists, or is apprehended in the province of Ulster, to authorize by proclamation, for a limited time, the importation of oats free from duty, except the duty of *2d.* per barrel imposed by the said bill, into the said province of Ulster, and prohibit the exportation of oats from thence.

SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1784.

Mr. *Griffith*, after explaining the consequences that accrued to industry, from the farmer's losing a very great proportion of that time, which might be so much better employed in agriculture, by coming up to town to sell his corn, for sake of the bounty; and shewing how much more advantageous it would be to have factors in the different market towns for that purpose, moved, That the committee be impowered to receive a clause to that purport.—Mr. *Griffith* added, that this, at the same time it encouraged people to make the carriage of corn their particular business, would ultimately center in the farmer, as the bounty would enable the factor to pay a higher price than he otherwise would.

House in a committee.—Mr. *Foster*, after entering largely into the advantages of conciliating the good will of Great Britain, as she was our best market for corn, and declaring his opinion of its conduciveness to promote the agriculture of Ireland, if a bounty were granted on the exportation of foreign corn, manufactured into flour, meal or malt, moved, That a clause be inserted in the bill for granting a bounty on flour, meal, and malt manufactured in this kingdom.

Right Honourable *Luke Gardiner* thought that at the same time they guarded against scarcity, the House ought to consult the interest of the farmer.

Mr. *Kearney* manifested much information in his opposition to the motion, and proved in a very satisfactory manner, that the clause would materially injure the agriculture of this kingdom.

Mr. *Busse* opposed the introduction of the clause.—He said, England allowed a bounty on the corn exported into Ireland, and were Ireland to allow another on its re-exportation, such a decisive advantage would be thereby given to foreign corn, as would ruin our agriculture; he observed, that as the benefits were excessively small, and the danger great, of adopting this clause, it should have his hearty dissent.

The Right Honourable the *Provost* said, he thought the motion ought to be opposed.

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Mr. *Foster* answered several objections made to the motion. In times of scarcity, Great Britain would supply us with corn. As to export bounty on foreign corn manufactured in this country, he wished to be able to devise a mode of inducing the whole world to send corn hither to be ground. We then should have a valuable trade indeed.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* observed, the Right Hon. Mover had spoken in favour of the clause, yet he believed it not his offspring.—However Sir Henry made no doubt he'd *joſter* it.

General *Cunningham*, Sir *Hercules Langrishe*, and several other gentlemen spoke against it, and Mr. *Corry*, and Mr. *Hayes* for the motion.

It was negatived by 70 to 33.

Mr. *Foster* moved an amendment for granting a bounty on importation, when the price of barley should exceed 13s. and that of oats 8s.

Passed in the affirmative.

Mr. *Griffith* gave notice of his intention to move a clause for establishing corn factors in the different market towns.

After a long conversation relative to settling the average prices, when it had been agreed on Mr. *Foster's* motion, that all persons who made false returns of the price of corn, should pay a fine of 20^l. the committee adjourned, the Speaker now took the chair, and the House adjourned to Monday.

MONDAY, MARCH 8, 1784.

Mr. *Annesley* presented a petition of Ezekiel Davis Wilson, Edward Brice Dobbs, James Taylor, junior, and others, electors for the county of the town of Carrickfergus, complaining of an undue election and return for the said county of the town of Carrickfergus.—Mr. *Annesley* then moved, that the petition be taken into consideration on the 23d of April next.

Mr. *Waddel Cunningham* (the sitting member for Carrickfergus) said, that it would be extremely inconvenient to him to have the petition taken into consideration on that day, as the council he had engaged in this cause would then be absent on the circuit.—He observed, that the petition conveyed a charge against the Constitutional Club; but, he said, they were a set of honest men, who had gone to Carrickfergus, to give independent votes; there never was a more honest set of men—and as to the charge of bribery, he doubted not to bring it home to his antagonist.

Mr. *Jones* said—Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, what I am going to say might as well be left unsaid; though I am a young member of this House, I am old enough to stand a laugh; and I think it extremely indecent and unbecoming in the House to laugh at the

last Hon. Gentleman who spoke. He has shewn his talents in what he has delivered, and it is a shame to laugh at him; he brings a fund of knowledge into this House, of mercantile knowledge;—he should be treated with indulgence, and should have time to prepare a defence against the petition which is trumped up against him; but I forbear, and will not say any thing of this petition until it shall be declared frivolous, groundless and vexatious.

Mr. *Brownlow*, in pointed terms, severely censured the conduct of several members of the House, who betrayed a levity disgraceful to the dignity of their character; he said, though his honourable Friend (Mr. Cunningham) might not display the persuasive powers of oratory, he brought with him qualities more rare and valuable—a volume of wisdom and a fund of unbiassed integrity.

A motion was made, and the question being put, that the said petition be taken into consideration on Monday the 2d day of May next, at two o'clock; it passed in the negative.

Ordered, That the said petition be taken into consideration on Monday the 26th day of April next, at two o'clock.

Ordered, That Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant or warrants for such persons, papers and records, as shall be thought necessary by the several parties on the hearing of the matter of the said petition.

Mr. *Annesley* also presented a petition of the Honourable Joseph Hewit, complaining of an undue election and return for the county of the town of Carrickfergus.

Ordered, That the said petition be taken into consideration on the day and hour appointed for taking into consideration the petition of Ezekiel Davis Wilson, Edward Brice Dobbs, James Taylor, junior, and others, complaining of an undue election and return for the said county of the town of Carrickfergus.

Ordered, That Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant or warrants for such persons, papers and records, as shall be thought necessary by the several parties on hearing of the matter of the said petition.

General *Luttrell* rose and acquainted the House that he had a motion to make, for the prevention of a robbery of the worst nature, the robbery of life and limb, by a cruelty practised here in the 18th century, that would have astonished the barbarians of the 14th; it was the inhuman practice of houghing men for no reason but their being soldiers, by the people of the trade and mystery of butchers, a respectable body no doubt, whose qualifications are a strong arm, a sharp knife, and a hard heart.

He said, that such acts were sufficient to exasperate men against the civil authority; if the officers of the army had not been watch-

ful to prevent any evil consequences.—In the instance of the Island-bridge riot the civil power vindicated its authority ; that immediately after that event the whole garrison of Dublin had been drawn up on the parade, (he was himself on duty by order of General Baugh) the offended inhabitants were encouraged to appear on the parade, to pitch on such of the soldiers, whose persons they could identify, and the offenders were in the presence of the high sheriffs, both for city and county, given up to the civil power, and committed to Newgate.

He was the last man in the House who would get up to excuse the soldiery in that instance, and he mentioned the provocation in mitigation only of those proceedings, for he thought a reverence for the laws of civil society, and a peaceable demeanor towards their fellow subjects, was the best part of military discipline.

The 49th regiment had been ordered out of town, not because they had acted in such a manner, as to give a reason for their being selected for that example, but because having had more men belonging to that regiment houghed and ill treated than any other, it was thought prudent to remove them, and it became necessary to sacrifice the feelings of the foldier to the safety of a citizen, in a free country that should ever be the case. Colonel Brown was one of the best officers in the army, that he had distinguished himself on service, and was remarkable for a strict observance of discipline in the regiment, and an excellent corps of officers emulated his example.—But although discipline might do much, it was impossible for officers to be answerable for what a sudden impulse might hurry men to commit, goaded by a provocation so far beyond all further bearing as houghing was.

He therefore thought it wise in the legislature to endeavour, by every possible means, to put a stop to so horrid a practice ; and surely a stipend of 20*l.* a year to be levied on the parish and district where the offence is committed, provided the offender is not taken and prosecuted to conviction, would be neither an unjust or unwise measure.

He was convinced the gentlemen of the knife were the performers, and had the whole merit of the art, for an art and mystery it was, and which required a very sharp and well adapted instrument, judgment, strength, dexterity of wrist, and a hardness of heart, for which that fraternity were so peculiarly distinguished. The Ormond and Liberty boys commemorated their reconciliation and greasy embraces in the blood of the unoffending foldier ; unoffending, because they houghed the foldier indiscriminately, merely because he wore the coat of his king and of his country. And so far the butcher was worse than the Italian assassin, who if, by mistake, he chanced to stab a wrong person, always begged the gentleman's pardon.

He quoted the statute of the 5th of Edward IV. whereby persons who were only suspected of being guilty of offences less horrid than the act of houghing, were liable to have their heads cut off by the parties aggrieved, and the vicinity mulcted into the bargain. But he observed, that the redress was as barbarous as the crime.

That individuals might be urged to retaliation he asserted, and as a proof, mentioned the story of the commanding officer of a regiment of dragoons, who declared to them aloud in terrorem, that if a man of them was houghed in Dublin, and they did not the next morning bring him a butcher's head, he would flog them all; but this was as an additional argument to prove, that the gratitude for protection ought to supersede the idea of revenge.

He then moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to give better protection to soldiers and others against the barbarous practice of houghing.—Ordered, and that the Honourable General Luttrell and the Honourable Denis Browne do prepare and bring in the same.

Mr. Browne said, he was happy to second the motion, and promised the bill his utmost support.

Mr. Corry took the opportunity of thanking the Right Hon. Member for the honourable manner in which he had mentioned the officer at the head of the 49th regiment, and also to bear testimony to the conduct of the general, when some of the men were given up to the civil power.

Sir John Parnel informed the House, that the select committee appointed to try the merits of the petition of William Alexander English, Esq; complaining of an undue election for the borough of Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford, have determined

That Montifort Longfield, Esq; was duly elected a burghess to serve in this present parliament for the borough of Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford.

Also, that Montifort Longfield, Esq; was duly returned a burghess to serve in this parliament for the borough of Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford.

Also, that Conway Heatly, Esq; was duly elected a burghess to serve in this present parliament for the borough of Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford.

Also, that Conway Heatly, Esq; was duly returned a burghess to serve in this present parliament for the borough of Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford.

Which determinations were ordered to be entered on the journals of the House.

Sir John Parnel likewise reported from the said committee, that they had come to the following resolutions :

Resolved, That the petition of William Alexander English, complaining of an undue election and return of Conway Heatly, Esq; was frivolous, vexatious and groundless.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the returning officer, Sir Vesey Colclough, Bart. was guilty of misconduct previous to the late election, by having acted under the corrupt influence of the said William Alexander English, and endeavouring to procure the election of the said William Alexander English for the borough of Enniscorthy, during the present parliament.

Sir John Parnell likewise reported from the said committee, that they had directed him to make a special report of what appeared to the committee, which he accordingly did, and delivered in the same at the table, together with the minutes of the evidence; and the said report was read at the table.

Ordered, That the said report be taken into consideration on this day sevensnight.

Ordered, That Sir Vesey Colclough, Bart. do attend in his place on this day sevensnight.

Ordered, That William Alexander English, Esq; do attend this House on this day sevensnight.

Mr. George Ponsonby presented to the House, according to order, a bill for continuing and amending several laws relating to his Majesty's revenue, and for the more effectually preventing of frauds therein; which was received and read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Wednesday morning next.

Ordered, that the said bill be printed.

The House in a committee on the corn bill, and the average clause being read,

Mr. Foster said, the bill had been printed, that gentlemen might have an opportunity of forming their sentiments on it. The price of corn in every part of the kingdom, with the quantity on hand, is to be returned to Dublin, where the average is to be struck, and a registry kept of the prices in each part of Ireland.

The *Provoost* objected to the mode of striking the average; and thought the mode by jury the most constitutional.

It was agreed that the average should be struck in Dublin.

The clause was now read, That all importers of corn should lodge the same in warehouses, and not sell or export but when at the limited prices mentioned in the act.

Mr. Foster—The merchant is to lodge in the warehouse, and a king's lock is to be put on it: by this means all corn imported, which may not be wanted for immediate consumption, will be stored; that when the price is above 30s. per barrel, it may be put out to sale; or when it is lower than 27s. per barrel, the corn may be exported.—The intention of this clause is al-

ways to provide a sufficient quantity of corn in Ireland, and at the same time a sufficient security, by its being bonded and locked up in a warehouse, under the king's lock and the charge of custom-house officers, that no corn be issued out for home consumption, when the price is under 27s. per barrel; this will encourage the farmer to sow corn and encourage tillage. This clause will be also attended with another advantage, as it will encourage foreigners, in return for their corn, to purchase the manufactures of this kingdom. We all know that if we send our manufactures to America, they cannot pay for them in specie, but will give corn or tobacco in exchange. The question therefore is, will you give encouragement to dispose of your manufactures in foreign countries, by taking their superfluous corn in return, and at the same time provide that the corn imported will not tend to deter the farmers from agriculture?

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* was of opinion, that if 100,000 barrels of corn were in one granary, and under the care of a custom-house officer, it might be admitted by fraud to come out and be sold to the public, which would be injurious to the tillage of this country.

Mr. *Gardiner* said, having corn lodged in the warehouses could not be detrimental, because by these means corn would be always at hand to supply the poor. It might be taken out only when corn was above 30s. per barrel; besides, there was another reason why we should take care always to have a quantity of corn in Ireland. The potatoes, during the late severe season, had rotted in the ground, and there might be a scarcity of that useful vegetable. As to frauds being committed, he could not see the force of that argument, for in England no bad consequences arose from East India goods being bonded and lodged in warehouses, whence they were not to be sold for home consumption, under particular limitations expressed in acts made for that purpose.

Sir *Lucius O'Brien* apprehended it would be impossible to guard against frauds; for notwithstanding the king's lock being on one door, the merchant might have a lock on the other.

Mr. *Kufje* had so many objections to the clause, that he did not know which to begin with. It had been tried in England, and did not succeed. When corn is scarce in Ireland, and the public see it taken out of the warehouses and sent abroad, we shall, said he, see paragraphs in the news-papers, "that this bill is a most refined bill, for we get corn by it into Ireland, and yet are not to make use of it, as it is to be exported." Another paragraph will say, "Oh the cruel and unfeeling viceroy, that when there is corn in the warehouses, will not order it to be sold to the poor." The next will say, "We hope our patriotic viceroy will interfere, and cause the corn in the warehouses to be sold to the poor." And one will not be wanting to inform the

public, "That the good ship the ——— is taking away the corn out of the warehouses, to carry it abroad, while the people of Ireland are starving." And then we shall have our volunteers called upon. "Oh is it not a terrible thing that no one will interfere to keep the corn in the kingdom?" And then, the factors, the custom-house officers, the viceroy, the volunteers, all will be called upon by the manufacturers, who do not understand a tittle of the corn-laws. In England they have persons whose business it is to purchase corn, store it, and when the prices are at what they think reasonable, to sell it out again; but we want no Irish badgers. He opposed the clause, he said, because we all know the custom-house officers, and that it would be next to impossible to guard against their frauds, especially as they are to attend without fee or reward; will they not be tempted by the merchants to give up the key? Then what becomes of your corn?

Sir *Henry Cavendish* declared himself decidedly against the clause, which he would vote for, he said, if he was a miller, if he was a corn-factor, if he was a baker, or if he was an American. But, as an Irishman, he would oppose it.

Mr. *Corry* defended the clause; as by it, he hoped the commerce with America, a most desirable object, would be extended.

Mr. *Hartley*—Although I am neither a corn-merchant, or factor, the clause shall have my hearty support; our poor, who were recently in a starving condition, will feel the most effectual relief from it. He said, American wheat could not be imported for less than 27s. the barrel. From whence, he contended, there was no inducement to smuggle.

Mr. *Foster*—How can there be fraudulent exports, when there is a regular prudent import? It was impossible any frauds could exist.—The clause was agreed to, and the House adjourned.

TUESDAY, MARCH 9, 1784.

Mr. *Burton* reported from the committee appointed to try the merits of the Westmeath election, that John Reynolds had been guilty of perjury and prevarication before that committee, and moved that he should be committed to Newgate.—Ordered accordingly.

Mr. *Uniacke* said, that it would be necessary for the House to go somewhat further, or their orders would be of no effect towards promoting the salutary purposes of the law for trying contested elections. One Miller, he said, had been, by the Speaker's order, committed to Newgate for perjury on the trial of the Cork election, but he had been informed that the Court

of King's Bench had discharged him—He was anxious to be ascertained of the fact, and to that end moved, That the jailor of Newgate should attend at the bar to-morrow, in order to answer to the House for the body of the said Miller; or if discharged, to shew under what authority his discharge had been obtained.—Ordered accordingly.

A conversation took place relative to the expence of furnishing the members of the House with copies of the journals bound or in sheets; Sir *Henry Cavendish* strongly contending for the latter mode, alledging, that the expence of binding would make a difference of more than 3,000*l.* against the nation, though the advantage to each member would be very insignificant. The last parliament, he said, had voted away enormous sums of money, and retrenchment in every department ought to be the object of the present.

Mr. *Marcus Beresford* said he could not see the justice of visiting the sins of a former parliament on that which is now sitting, or preventing the members of the present from receiving their journals bound in the usual and proper manner, because the last parliament was lavish of the public money. The Hon. Baronet had very lately entertained a different opinion concerning national expence, when he moved for a very large sum of money to be given to a friend of his own, the Clerk of the House, for revising and making an index to those very journals; a service which was not by any means equivalent to the reward demanded.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* said his knowledge of the clerk, and his friendship for him, arose from his excellent behaviour in his office, and the zeal and assiduity with which he discharged his duty: but the Hon. Member should have known that the House did not grant the large sum of money to the clerk which he had mentioned, though his great application and labour had well deserved it.

Mr. *Marcus Beresford* acknowledged the House had not granted so large a sum as the Hon. Baronet had proposed, but thought his merit in moving not one whit diminished by the House refusing to comply.

Sir *Edward Newenham* gave notice that he would, at a future day, move the House to grant a sum of money sufficient to purchase a superb service of plate, to be ornamented with the arms of Ireland, and kept in the castle, for the use of the Lord Lieutenant for the time being. This motion, he said, he would make on a principle of œconomy, for it was not only disgraceful to Ireland, but a real and very great loss, to have her Viceroys changed every day, and to put the nation to the expence of a service of plate for each.

Sir *Henry Cavendish* gave notice that he intended to introduce a bill for lowering the interest of money to five per cent.

Mr. *Ogle* said, that if the Hon. Baronet was not very certain of the necessity and practicability of such a bill, it would be better not to move it all; but if it was moved, it ought to be determined upon with all convenient speed, for while it was pending it must prove injurious to the nation, by increasing the difficulty of borrowing as it had formerly been, when a universal alarm, both here and in England, was spread as soon as it was mentioned. He desired to know if this bill was to have any retrospective view to money already lent?

Sir *Henry Cavendish*.—I do admit that when I formerly stated this subject, an universal alarm was spread; and I do also admit that great industry was used to spread that alarm. As to any retrospect to money already lent, such an absurd and unjust idea never entered my head; my intention is to serve the country, and I know nothing that can more effectually serve it than making money cheap.

Mr. *Ogle*.—As to any industry that may have been used in spreading the alarm, I know nothing of it; but I am answered, when the Hon. Baronet tells me his bill is to have no retrospective view.

Sir *John Parnell*.—If the Hon. Baronet is not very certain of being able to carry his bill into effect, I would recommend it to him not to agitate it at all; though if it could be made effectual, I confess it would be a very great advantage. This is now a rising nation, money will be called out and find its way into trade that hitherto lay unused; nothing that could prevent this desirable circumstance should now be brought forward; we should not give the monied people an alarm by interfering with their interest; it is a subject in which parliament should interfere as seldom as possible; nor should the rate of money ever be lowered, till like other commodities, it had first found its own value in the market, and by redundancy had lowered itself.—Now I will ask if that be the case at present; are there more lenders than borrowers? Or do the frequent advertisements for sums of money which cannot be obtained, even on the best security at six per cent. prove the necessity of reducing interest to five?

Sir *Nicholas Lawless*.—I fear this motion is premature, and that agitating it now will increase the already too great difficulty which gentlemen find in raising money on their estates. As to commerce it cannot serve it, nor does commerce stand in need of such an aid, at least in the city of Dublin, for there the national bank is ever forward to promote the cause of commerce; but it may produce a very injurious consequence, it may prevent the monied men of England from lending upon Irish secu-

city; the national interest in England is five per cent. and which of them will lend upon Irish security when he can get the best in England, and receive the same rate of interest?

Mr. *David Latouche*.—If the bill be 'referred' to a committee, I wish it would be done as soon as possible; if I find it for the public good, I shall give it my assistance. I should wish, Sir, that gentlemen would advert to the situation of this country, which wants plenty of money, and plenty of money only can operate to lessen the interest of it. If money be scarce, you may enact what laws you please, they will be found inoperative. When people want to borrow money, they can hardly attain it at six per cent. should the interest of money be lowered, those who then want to borrow money will be obliged to sell their lands. This will cause a glut in the market, and consequently the price of land must fall, a matter requiring the most serious attention of this House. It may indeed appear to remove some evils, but involves circumstances dangerous to the public—for I much fear this measure will be dangerous to the landed property of this country.

Mr. *Foster* hoped the Right Hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Cavendish) would not insist on his motion now, as it was necessary to go into a committee of supply; and moved for the order of the day, which was carried without a division.

The order of the day for going into the committee of ways and means on the post-office bill was moved.

The House accordingly resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the Right Hon. John Foster in the chair.

Mr. *Attorney General* stated to the committee that so long ago as Lord Buckingham's administration, the necessity of establishing the post-office of Ireland, by Irish authority, had been perceived, and in order to carry it into effect his lordship, after consulting with those who were best able to give him information on the subject, proposed to the British ministry, that an act of separation should be passed, that no accounts should be kept, but that each country should take to its own profit, the postage of all letters delivered within itself. This proposal was rejected by the then administration of England, and in its stead a copy of a bill was drawn up, separating the offices of the two kingdoms, restraining Ireland to the advantages of her internal postage only, and granting to Great Britain the postage of all letters from Great Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Great Britain. This bill was rejected by Lord Buckingham as being inadequate, and as leaving to Ireland a revenue scarcely sufficient to maintain her post-office.

It was again revived in Lord Carlisle's administration, but no effectual steps could be taken before Lord Carlisle was succeeded by the Duke of Portland, and during his Grace's short residence nothing could be done upon the subject.

Lord Temple took it up, and investigated it with great attention and ability. He approved of the plan originally suggested, but as his lordship was soon called away, he had not an opportunity of carrying it into effect.

Lord Northington adopted these ideas which Lord Temple had approved. His lordship repeated the proposal which Lord Buckingham had made to the British ministers, but could not prevail on them to accede to it. His lordship sent over Mr. Lees to London to explain the subject, and give every information upon it. He was authorised to represent, that Ireland was willing to take upon herself the expence of packets, and to account to England for all foreign postage received in Ireland.

During the space of near three months Lord Clermont and Mr. Lees, laboured this point with the most unremitting zeal and attention; but the ministers adhered strictly to the reasoning which had decided against the measure, during Lord Buckingham's administration.

The first objection was, the great inequality in point of revenue to the disadvantage of England, as might be clearly exemplified in the case of a single letter. Ireland, they said, might receive on a single letter, at an average, 8*d.* postage from every part of England, whereas England could in no case receive for the internal postage of a single letter conveyed in Ireland more than 4*d.*—but that which was principally urged, and seemed the most relied upon, was, that as Great Britain conveyed at her own charge, the mails, both to and from Ireland, Ireland could have no just claim to any part of the revenue arising from the labours and expence of England. That every country should be recompensed for its own services, that as England alone performed the duty, England ought of course, alone, to receive the profit; and that with every disposition on their part, not only to do justice, but to shew kindness to Ireland, they could not in this instance relinquish the right of England. The situation of the country could not afford it, nor could they justify such a proceeding to parliament. It was the justice of this argument was too strong not to be admitted. But it was said on the part of Ireland, that she would establish packet boats, and pay the expence of all foreign letters to Holyhead. Her right to do so was not denied; but it was objected that by the law of England, the mails of that kingdom must be sent out in packet boats of her own; and though it was confessed that Ireland had the same right to send out her mails in packet boats of her own, yet for the accommodation of both sides, and to prevent the trouble and expence of doubling the number of packet boats, it was proposed as a compensation to Ireland, until she should think proper to establish packet boats of her

own, to pay her 4,000*l.* per annum, for the liberty of carrying her letters across the channel. The difficulties, inseparable from any other plan, and the impropriety of either nation interfering with the revenue of the other, had induced Lord Northington to agree to those terms, and England had in consequence passed an act, for the separation of the post-offices of Great Britain and Ireland, which is however, not to take place until a similar act shall have been passed in this kingdom.

The meaning of the bill, and the spirit of it was to allow each country to receive the postage of letters so far as she carries them.

To restrain the privilege of franking letters to the respective members of parliament within their respective kingdoms, and to enable the treasury of England to pay over to that of Ireland, by quarterly payments, 4,000*l.* per annum, until Ireland shall think proper to establish packet boats of her own.

Now it appears to me that the compensation is fully adequate, and a much greater revenue than could be raised by establishing Irish packet boats, which would be a very expensive undertaking, and in the end, perhaps, not quit the cost; besides this, England has assigned over to Ireland, free of expence, the post-office which lately cost her between 7, and 8,000*l.* Upon the whole, I trust the House will perceive that every thing possible has been done by Lord Northington for the advantage of Ireland; and that he has been as successful as could reasonably be hoped.

The *Attorney General* then proceeded to state the plan upon which it was intended to establish the Irish office. On the present establishment, he said it would do little more than pay its own expences; and in order to raise a revenue, the privilege of franking must be restrained to the personal convenience of the members of parliament, to which end it was proposed that no letter should pass free that was not superscribed, and dated on the back with the day of the week and month, by a member of parliament; and that if it was not put into the office the day of its date, it should not be considered as free. He stated that it would be necessary to make a small increase in the postage of letters, and moved the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty a general letter office, or post office, together with all inferior necessary offices, shall be established within this kingdom, to continue to the 25th day of March, 1785; and that there shall be levied and paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the portage and conveyance of letters and packets by the said offices, the several rates hereafter mentioned.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that there shall be levied and paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors,

from the establishment of such general post-office, until the time aforesaid, for the port and conveyance of every single letter or piece of paper from the office in this kingdom where such letter or piece of paper shall be put in, to any distance within said kingdom not exceeding fifteen miles Irish measure, the sum of 2*d.* and to any distance exceeding fifteen miles, and not exceeding thirty miles, the sum of 3*d.* and to any distance exceeding thirty miles, the sum of 4*d.* and for the port and conveyance of every double letter, double the said sums respectively; and of every treble letter, treble the said sums respectively; and of every ounce weight, four times the said sums respectively, and so in proportion for any greater weight than an ounce, reckoning every quarter of an ounce equal to a single letter.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that every letter or packet directed from any place in this kingdom to any parts beyond the seas, shall be charged and pay according to the rates aforesaid, for its portage and conveyance within this kingdom from or to Dublin or Donaghadee, according as it shall be respectively shipped from or landed in either of the said places.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that every letter or packet passing through the general post-office in the city of Dublin, from any place within this kingdom not less distant than four miles from the said office, to any place within the said kingdom, not less distant likewise than four miles from the said office, shall be charged and pay according to the distances in the foregoing resolutions to Dublin, and be further charged and pay according to the same from Dublin.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that for every letter or packet directed on board, or brought or sent from on board any ship or vessel riding or stopping in any port within this kingdom, there shall be charged and paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, over and above the rates aforesaid, the sum of 1*d.*

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the said supply a penny-post-office be established in the city of Dublin, for the port and conveyance of letters and packets within a circuit of four miles from the general post-office in the said city.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that for every letter or packet of any weight which shall be sent to or delivered from the general post-office by the penny-post, from or to any place not being within the said city, there shall be paid the sum of 1*d.* over and above or exclusive of the rates aforesaid.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that for the port and conveyance of any letter or packet, being not more than four ounces in weight, from and to any place within the city

of Dublin, by the penny-post-office, there shall be paid, at the time of putting such letter or packet into the office, the sum of 1*d.* and for the port and conveyance of every letter or packet, not exceeding the like weight, from any place in the said city to any place outside of the said city within the circuit of the penny-post-office, or from any place outside of the said city within the circuit of the penny-post to any place in the said city, there shall be paid, at the time of putting in such letter or packet, the sum of 1*d.* and a further sum of 1*d.* on the delivery thereof.

Mr. *Molyneux* said, that he saw no reason why we should trust England with the conveyance of our letters, while she refused to trust us; that the establishment of packet boats would be a small expence and productive of a great revenue. And finally, that the proof of his assertion was this, that the office as left with Ireland, was unequal to its own expence, and therefore the ministry was obliged to raise the price of postage, and contract the privileges of the House; though formerly it had been stated as an object of revenue, capable of producing 12, or 14,000*l.* per annum, without any such increase of expence or diminution of privilege.

Mr. *Gardiner* did not approve of the increase of postage, when too, it did not supersede the necessity of abridging the privilege of that House, which he thought ought to be kept perfect, and entire.

Mr. *Corry* objected to the tax as burthenfome to the commerce of this country. He represented a commercial town, and he could not be satisfied with the tax for his constituents.

Mr. *Orde*.—I would not thus obtrude myself upon the House, the first day I have the honour of sitting here, but for the purpose of answering some questions which gentlemen have been pleased to direct to me, and which render it improper for me to remain silent.

This bill is not the act of the present administration, but a continuation of what was begun by the former; yet I should be sorry it was made an object of opposition, because I believe it will be found a very fair and useful measure; but what I am most anxious to impress upon the House is, that I should be the most unhappy man existing, if gentlemen could for one moment imagine that I have any intention to impose upon them; on the contrary, whenever it shall be their pleasure to call upon me, I shall most cheerfully give them every satisfaction in my power.

I have reason to think that the revenue now arising from the inland postage of this kingdom, is hardly sufficient to maintain the expence of the officers; but this revenue, assisted by the four thousand pounds a year which Britain is to pay, will be equal to the future establishment, though it will not go much beyond it.

It has been asked, Whether there be any intention to aid the supply by this measure? I answer, Yes; by restraining the pri-

vilege of franking to the personal convenience of the members of parliament—by circumscribing the unlimited manner in which the privilege has hitherto been exercised, and by the alteration in the charge of postage, I think ten thousand pounds may annually be brought to the national aid.

I have been but a short time in this country, but I must have been very inattentive indeed, if I had not ere now discovered the respect and deference which is due to the gentlemen I now have the honour to sit among; and I beg leave to say, that they value too highly the good opinion of such men ever to risque it by bringing forward a measure injurious to the country, or which might not be laid open to the inspection of all the world. Mr. *Orde* concluded with saying, that every necessary document should be laid before the House.

Sir *Richard Musgrave* said, when the business of the nation was lately interrupted by repeated adjournments of the House, gentlemen complained of it, and now that an affair of the greatest consequence is before it, they make a wanton and unnecessary opposition to it.—The regulation of the post-office took place during an administration in England, which this House and this nation should look up to with gratitude; and this law should be wished for, because it will wipe away the last vestige of that odious principle, so much and so justly spurned at, that English laws can operate in Ireland; besides it will produce a large revenue, the appropriation of which can be attended to in the different processes through which the resolutions of the committee must pass, before they are executed into a law.

Mr. *Brownlow* confessed himself prejudiced in favour of the Right Hon. Gentleman's intentions by the open and candid manner in which he had expressed himself; but begged that one day more might be given to consider the measure now before the committee, which he would receive as a favour. He said, he could not sit down without returning the Right Honourable Secretary his thanks, for the favourable sentiments he expressed, and assured him, that an administration attentive to the public good, as he believed the present to be, might always rely on support from the independent gentlemen of Ireland.

Mr. *Curry* thanked the minister, for his unexampled candour, and readiness to give the members of the House satisfaction on a subject so highly interesting to the nation.

The committee reported progress, and prayed leave to sit again.

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SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

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